SKETCHES AND HINTS

OF

CHURCH HISTORY,

AND

THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

CHIEFLY TRANSLATED OR ABRIDGED FROM

MODERN FOREIGN WRITERS.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

PREFACE.

THE manners, religion, and theological literature of this century, afford important inſtructions and warnings, and well merit to be carefully ſtudied. Changes in all theſe, eſpecially the laſt forty years, till then neither expected nor dreaded, ſeem big with changes ſtill greater, the preventing, promoting, or improving which, deeply concerns every Chriſtian. A delineation of the riſe and progreſs of many late aſtoniſhing events, and a juſt and ſtriking portrait of the preſent aſpect of the times, would be a work highly uſeful and intereſting. Poſterity, however, bids fairer for enjoying ſuch a work than the preſent age. Bacon has ſomewhere obſerved, that ſciences often ſuffer, by being too ſoon reduced to a ſyſtem. This peculiarly holds as to hiſtory. When narratives of ſtruggles and contentions appear, before they are ſettled, luminous incidents are often omitted; and the cauſes of changes, and their natural tendency and o-

peration, are seldom traced out. Favour and friendship, or prejudice and aversion, often mislead writers, in describing transactions which passed under their eye, and even transactions in which they bore a splendid part. A knowledge of many European languages, and books and pamphlets published in them, is necessary for a thorough acquaintance with the modern ecclesiastical history of foreign parts. This can scarcely be expected in one man, whatever leisure he might have for collecting materials, or taste and skill for properly arranging them. An easier and humbler task is attempted in the following sheets. They chiefly contain memoirs of the late history of Popery and of Protestantism, translated or abridged from several German Authors. No literal version of any of them has been intended. Several facts and reflections, judiciously inserted by the original writers, are omitted, not being necessary to the purpose of this compilation. This freedom, however, it is hoped, does no injustice to their sentiments. It has been endeavoured, perhaps with less success, to convey these sentiments with as much of their native force and energy, as a scanty knowledge of the different idioms of the German and English languages would allow.

Perhaps,

Perhaps, in the spirit of a rash, indelicate, and unfair caricatura of Dr Davidson's Society Sermon *, it will be asked, Are you ignorant

* Inserted in the *Evangelical Magazine*, an important, and (a few instances excepted) a well conducted work. The reviews of Dr Taylor, Mr Balfour, and Mr Russell's late sermons in the *Missionary Magazine*, also discover an inclination to blame, rather than to approve. Have the pious and benevolent designs of these magazines, and of the Missionary Societies, falsely imagined their directors, so few enemies, that they should grieve the hearts of their friends, by ill-founded censures of men justly dear to them, and strengthen and increase the prejudices of the unfriendly? Can they not be silent, when only the composition, not the sentiments of a book, displeases them; and content themselves, as the Baptist Register generally does, with a list of theological publications? Though criticisms of the arrangement and style of discourses have their use, there is no need that Volunteers and Hussars should wantonly wrest that invidious office from regular Reviewers. Or, if their passion for showing their opinion is so impetuous that it must have vent, let them rather indulge it, as the angry criticisers of Mr Simeon's Gospel Message, and of Mr M'Gill of Eastwood's Synod Sermon, have done, in separate pamphlets. Thus, no suspicion will arise, that an obnoxious article was composed by an innocent fellow-labourer, in a journal, or by one supposed, without ground, to bear a part in conducting it. It were however better, instead of commencing teachers of logic or rhetoric, to learn what that meaneth, "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves; giving no offence to Jew, to Greek, or to the churches of Christ:" Or, if that precept appear dark and obscure, to study another, which their own

ignorant of other late facts, respecting the history of religion, equally important as any here recorded? No. Nay, I know facts which demand more immediate attention. But why should I plunder magazines, which have, and merit extensive circulation, where the zeal for spreading the gospel among the Heathen, and the success with which it is accompanied, are recorded? Or, should I bury in oblivion narratives which I think useful, because old age and frequent interruptions of health, hinder my giving the public, a regular history of the new pretended Reformers, or of the Illuminati and German Union? Of these reformers, a sufficient account may be found, in the first volumes of *Koester's Religions Begebenheiten*, published at Giessen, or in the extract from them published in Dutch; one or other of which, it is hoped, may be translated. With pleasure I learn, that an account of the Illuminati and German Union, by a gentleman

feelings may easily interpret, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." When indeed publications appear, whether by good men or by bad, injurious to the faith of the gospel, or to holiness of heart and life; then, without going out of their line, and hurting the good cause they mean to support, they may cry aloud, and warn their fellow Christians, to cease from the instruction which causeth to err from the paths of knowledge.

gentleman of distinguished ability and worth, is in great forwardness for the press.

I am not ignorant that a few anecdotes in Nicolai's travels have been disputed and contradicted. From the defences of two clergymen *, whom that learned Bookseller has accused as favourers of Popery, the charges, if not entirely without foundation, appear to me greatly exaggerated. I also know, that the sale and spread of Nicolai's literary journals, is thought to have greatly promoted the growth of Socinianism, and even of Deism in Germany. Yet notwithstanding all this, I am convinced he was too wise, to forfeit his reputation, by misrepresenting facts, the true state of which was of public notoriety. Dan. Joach. Koppen, who, in several pieces, has ably opposed the principles of the pretended new reformers, makes honourable mention of what Nicolai has written on the danger of Protestantism, from the secret machinations of Jesuits †. The late Joseph Ewart, whose conduct during his residence at Berlin, did so much honour to himself, to his relations, and to his country, thought the composition of these travels bad, but the statement of facts in most

* Stark and Lavater.

† See Koppen's *Bibel ein werk der gottlichen weisheit, 2 theil.* Rostoch, 1788, p. 576—668.

most instances exact and accurate. I have lodged that work in the Edinburgh College Library, as it contains much curious information, communicating which did not fall under my plan. To some such passages I have referred.

The most numerous, and perhaps the most interesting articles in this volume, are those from the late learned Professor Walch of Gottingen. The papers containing the extracts from Meusel and Bachiene, would have been inserted after No. 7, had they not been somehow mislaid.

Sennebier's apology for the conduct of the great Geneva reformer to Servetus, merits the fuller credit, as his religious ideas are very different from those of Calvin.

Gibbon's objection to the sun standing still in the days of Joshua, from the silence of Heathen authors as to so extraordinary a phenomenon, is my only apology for publishing a manuscript of the late Dr Donald Macqueen of Kilmuir in Sky, a clergyman who combined with the better qualities of the heart, such politeness as if he had been bred at court, and such learning as if Oxford or Cambridge had been his constant residence. For that manuscript, I am indebted

ed to the Reverend Dr John Stuart, whoſe uſeful labours in the Gaelic tranſlation of the Bible, as well as thoſe of his late worthy father, are ſo well known.

Payne's ſneers on the whale ſwallowing Jonah, of which the profane wit is by no means original, occaſioned the extract from King's Morſels of Criticiſm, which I am perſuaded will give much ſatisfaction to every candid and philoſophic reader.

EDINBURGH,
12th May 1797.

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SKETCHES AND HINTS
OF
MODERN CHURCH-HISTORY.

NUMBER I.

POPERY AND PROTESTANTISM IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, &c.

From "*Beschreibung einer Reise durch Deutschland* "*und die Schweitz, in Jahre* 1781, *van* FRIED. "NICOLAI;" *i. e.* A Description of a Journey through Germany and Switzerland, in the Year 1781, by FRED. NICOLAI.

From 1 *Band. Berlin,* 1783.

P.46—48. NIGH Jena is the village Burgel. Of this place, Pernety, the King's librarian, is Abbot *in partibus infidelium;* for infidel is an epithet which Papists bestow on Protestant, as well as on Heathen and Mahometan countries. Probably the Burgel potters never dreamed that they had an Abbot. Thus, one Spaniard is Bishop of Brandenburg, and another of Magdeburg. Childish as the court of Rome's bestowing benefices, long ago secularized or in Protestant countries,

may appear, it may have serious consequences. She pretends, that no treaties, or length of possession, can deprive her of her rights: and therefore she gives titular bishoprics or abbacies, where she hopes, in times more favourable, to bestow the old emoluments annexed to them.

P. 48.—60. Jena university was founded in the middle of the 16th century; the Ernestine line, which, in the unfortunate battle of Muhlberg, had lost the electorate, and with it the university of Wittenberg, wishing in this way to support the Reformation. But Charles V. refusing his confirmation, and Ferdinand I., after long solicitation, granting it under the condition that they should not confer the degree of Doctor of Divinity; Jena university was almost stifled in her birth. Happily, however, Schroter, medical professor there, having cured that Emperor of stomach disorders contracted by eating and drinking too freely, obtained for his university the right of conferring doctoral degrees in all the four Faculties. From this time, the Jena divines were chief supports of the Lutheran church, and, for the whole of the last century, and the first thirty-three years of this, were famous for their rigid orthodoxy. The university flourished in the days of Jo. Fr. Buddeus, and Jo. Geo. Walch, who were among the learnedest men of their time. Then she could number 4000 students: now scarcely 600. Thirty years ago, they were as famous for fighting and drinking, as for studying. These disorders have now ceased. Eichhorn, Griesbach, &c. do great honour by their talents to Jena university.

P. 96.—104. When we came to the country of Bamberg, crosses and images on the wayside, soon discovered we were got on Catholic ground. The

The Benedictine library at Banz is well furnished. There is a press of forbidden books, allowance to read which is easily procured from the Bishop of Wurzburg. Raynal and Helvetius's writings are in the open presses. Wurzburg is more moderate and enlightened than many other Catholic countries. We found in the library Father Beda, a lively young man, who has published several writings in explication of scripture; and F. Franz, who has translated several French pieces. F. Placidus (Sprenger) the upper librarian, is publisher and chief composer of *Litteratur des catholischen Deutchlandes*, a journal which has done great service, and would do still more, if it was better known in Popish countries. It commenced 1775; and when I am writing this, 2 *Stuck* of 4 *Band* is published. It is said the work will cease with 4 *Band*, which will be a loss for the popish part of Germany. Many things in this journal, to men who live in the world, not in cloisters, and especially to Protestants, will appear strange. Yet Protestants may profit, by being better acquainted with the literature of their Popish brethren: and Papists will be informed of many remarkable books, and of the sentiments of the reviewers about them; and love to reading, and a habit of examining and reflecting on what they read, will be promoted. In the last Number both of this popish Journal, and of another less considerable one, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica Freyburgensis*, the critical sagacity of the reviewers seems considerably improved.

P. 125. Twenty or thirty years ago, none at Wittenberg deviated from one aphorism of a Newmann or a Hunnius, so that a rigid orthodox divine was termed a Wittenberger. This name has fallen into desuetude, since Schrook and Ebert

came to that university. The first has discovered great talents as an author, and would have discovered still greater, had he been less diverted from composing by the labours of his office, and had his situation furnished him better with historical books. The learning and tolerant principles of this excellent man have been of great service.

P. 127. In 1779, the Baron of Erthal was chosen Prince of Bamberg and Wurzburg. Though learned, well acquainted with the world and business, and never reckoned a bigot; since his becoming a Bishop, he has so devoted himself to religious exercises, that his health begins to suffer by his application and thoughtfulness. He reads mass daily, and often with such earnestness, that he sheds tears. The gravity and uniformity which prevails at his court, is less relished by the people of Bamberg, than the plays and festivals in the days of his predecessor: yet they love him: and a sensible man observed, that he was only severe to himself, and indulgent to others. I saw him read mass. Though none seemed offended, I was surprized that a prince so strictly religious, suffered that high act of worship to be disturbed, by allowing, in the time of it, a piece of opera music to be performed. Most of the spectators seemed to pay little attention either to the opera or to the mass. The university at Bamberg was founded 1648, chiefly for philosophy and theology, in teaching which Jesuits were employed. Since the abolition of the order, there is only one Ex-Jesuit teacher. Professor Diez is esteemed a man of learning, and of tolerant principles. The library chiefly consists of absurd legends and of controversy. With such a library, and with education so long conducted by Jesuits, it is no wonder that, in knowledge and freedom of thought, they

are

are ſo far behind Wurzburg, where Oberther and Schmidt the hiſtorian ſtudied, and even behind the monaſtery of Banz in their neighbourhood.

P. 161. Inſtead of the idleneſs and ſuperſtition of Bamberg, at Erlangen, which is four or five miles diſtant from it, Proteſtants carry on a variety of manufactures with activity and ſpirit, and execute work of every kind ſubſtantially and neatly.

P. 164. The univerſity was founded 1742 at Bayreuth, but next year removed to Erlangen. They have always had, and now have able and diligent profeſſors. The number of ſtudents is from 250 to 300, among whom are ſeveral foreigners, eſpecially from Courland and Hungary.

P. 177.—198. contains an uſeful account of Anſpach, and of the wiſdom and patriotiſm of the preſent Margrave.

P. 261.—319. gives a long account of Nurnberg. It is governed and ſeverely taxed by an ariſtocracy. Every kind of induſtry prevails, and is executed well and cheap. Yet few improvements are made, which, with their bad police, has baniſhed many excellent workmen, and carried their manufactures, not only to the neighbouring village Furth, but to diſtant parts. The abſurd tedious ceremonies in the Lutheran churches at Nurnberg are fatal effects of the interim two hundred years ago, and are ſpecimens of what a coalition of Proteſtants with Papiſts would have produced.

Beylage, p. 127.—132. gives probable grounds of ſuſpicion, that men intereſted to promote ſuperſtition, and the belief that miracles are not ceaſed, made a tool of the celebrated Schropfer, who had nothing to loſe, who would venture any thing, and whom every moment they could ſacri-

fice without danger. Having involved himſelf in promiſes which he could not perform, and dreading the detection and puniſhment he deſerved, he ſhot himſelf. A ſtop was put to a judicial ſearch of his houſe and writings, and to an examination of facts, which might have demonſtrated, what is too probable. Many eye-witneſſes perceived and detected the impoſture of his pretended wonders. Our author had formerly recommended, p. 273.—276. the believers of modern miracles to go to ſchool to Jo. Geo. Biſhoff at Nurnberg, and ſee the wonders he performs by the ingenious application of mechaniſm and electricity, which in Spain would procure him the name of a conjurer, and which, if he did not honeſtly declare how they were performed, many would eſteem ſupernatural.

Reiſe, van NICOLAI. 2 *Band.* Berlin, 1783.

P. 324, 325. At Altdorff there are about 120 ſtudents. D. Doderlein raiſed in his hearers there, a ſpirit of free inquiry, inſtead of blindly receiving doctrines and proofs.

P. 370.—373. At Ratiſbon there is a monaſtery of St James, a Scots Benedictine. The pretence of Benedictines coming from Scotland to Germany in the 12th century, and erecting that monaſtery, was to entertain Scots pilgrims who travelled through Germany to the Holy-land. But after pilgrimages and cruſades ceaſed, Scots, Engliſh and Iriſh monaſteries remained for another purpoſe. Great Britain is the country, the loſs of which the Pope ſeems moſt to regret, and which he uſes every poſſible mean to recover to Catholiciſm. For this purpoſe, ſecret Romiſh miſſionaries are employed, and monaſteries are made

ſeminaries

ſeminaries for qualifying the children of Britiſh or Iriſh Catholics for ſuch miſſions, and for ſecretly ſowing the ſeeds of Popery. Immediately after the Reformation, the Benedictines got the direction of theſe miſſions. See *Reineri Apoſtolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, Duaci* 1626. Soon after, the Jeſuits deprived them of this direction; and from 1570 to their abolition, eſpecially in the laſt century, they have employed all their zeal and cunning for the public or ſecret reſtitution of popery in theſe iſlands. See *Mori Hiſtoria Miſſionis et Provinciæ Anglicanæ Societatis Jeſu, ab anno* 1580 *ad* 1635; and the *Jeſuits Memorial to King James II., Lond.* 1690. Even in this century, both orders have Engliſh, Scotiſh, and Iriſh monaſteries and ſeminaries: the Benedictines at Rome, at Douay, and Pontamouſſon in France, and at Lammſpringe and Ratiſbon in Germany: the Jeſuits at Rome, at Valladolid, Seville and St Lucar in Spain, Liſbon in Portugal, and Douay and St Omer in France. Since the abolition of the laſt order, the houſes of their ſeminaries are fallen into other hands. Some however are convinced, that the Ex-Jeſuits, under different names and forms, ſtill conſtitute an entire and important ſociety, and that their miſſionaries in England, and ſeminaries for ſupporting them, are not extinguiſhed. Perhaps future events may clear up this dark affair.

P. 384—392. Schofer, ſuperintendant at Ratiſbon, has publiſhed there from 1765 to 1771, ſix volumes ſmall 4to, of eſſays and ſpecimens for making paper without old rags, which he thinks have not met with the attention they merit; and that from thiſtles, briers, leaves of flowers and trees, &c., at leaſt paſteboard and packing paper, and

and probably, with a ſmall mixture of rags, writing and printing paper, might be manufactured.

P. 494—496. Many in Auſtria became Proteſtants ſoon after the Reformation, ſo that the Emperor Ferdinand I, who had burnt many Lutherans, and copies of Luther's tranſlation of the Bible *, adopting gentler meaſures, procured for them from Pius IV. 1564, the uſe of the ſacrament in both kinds. Proteſtantiſm gaining ground among the nobility, Maximilian II, that the Auſtrian ſtates might take upon them the payment of his debts, granted, 1568, the free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, and confirmed that grant 1571. On this, Proteſtant churches were erected in many places, particularly at Linz. But notwithſtanding this legal ſecurity, Rodolph II. deſtroyed all the Proteſtant churches and ſchools in Auſtria, and particularly, 1601, violently took from them, and beſtowed on the Jeſuits, the churches in Linz. Since that time the Proteſtants in Auſtria have been continually oppreſſed, and often perſecuted; and, between 30 and 40 years ago, were treated with unheard of ſeverity †. Since 1625, the nobility were either forced to inforce Popery, or to emigrate. But Proteſtantiſm has remained among the lower ranks; ſo that when Joſeph II. publiſhed his humane and Chriſtian edicts, many thouſand Proteſtants appeared in

* See Raupoch's *Evangeliſche Oeſterreich*; Hamburg, 1736, 4to. *Erſt; Fortſetzung*, p. 23. In that tedious and almoſt forgotten book, many facts are collected, important to thoſe who would know how opinions and manners ariſe and alter.

† Many accounts of theſe things have been publiſhed. See alſo the *Acta hiſtorico-eccleſiaſtica* of theſe times; and eſpecially a Memorial, July 1752, from the oppreſſed Auſtrians to the Evangelic Body, which contains incredible, and yet, alas, real facts.

in and near Linz, and have already procured an evangelical preacher. In the little village Efferding, (if we may credit the newſpapers of 1782), the Proteſtants, who amounted to 3508, began to build a timber place of worſhip, though again and again they were hindered by intolerance. So little can prohibitory laws alter mens religious opinions.

P. 496—510. There is a remarkable ſeminary at Linz, which I don't remember to have ſeen deſcribed. It was founded 1690 by the Jeſuit Martin Gotſer, under the Emperor Leopold ſo devoted to that order, for preſerving the ſeeds of Popery in the North, eſpecially in Sweden, Denmark and Norway. It ſtill remains in the hands of Jeſuits, notwithſtanding the abolition of their order. The revenue of this foundation is about 22,000 florins. Thirty-two youths have their lodging, clothing, diet, and inſtruction, free. Seven are young Auſtrian noblemen: Twenty-five, young Catholic Swedes, Danes or Norwegians. Nobles are preferred, but, in want of them, others are admitted. Miſſionaries at Copenhagen and Hamburg are commiſſioned ſecretly to procure young people for this ſeminary; and ſometimes truſty perſons travel through Norway and Sweden with that view ‡. I learned this, not at Linz,

‡ I cannot avoid tranſcribing an article from the Hamburg Correſpondent 1782, No. 166. 'Swediſh Pomerania, 12th October. 'The following is a proof of the happy progreſs of toleration.— 'In conſequence of the permiſſion granted ſome years ago by his 'Swediſh Majeſty, Effertz, a Popiſh clergyman at Stralsund, 'has lately undertaken a journey to Sweden, and has not only 'had the ſatisfaction to perform publicly the offices of his church, 'in Chriſtianſtadt, Kolmar, Gottenburg, Landſcrone, and Malmoe, but in ſome places has been allowed to do it in Proteſtant 'churches. That clergyman cannot ſufficiently acknowledge the 'many friendly offices done him, and the aid afforded in execut-'ing

Linz, but in another part of Germany. It is said, that sometimes the children of Protestants are allured to these seminaries, and either return Popish, or on certain occasions discover their favour for that religion, though they profess Protestantism. Whatever be in this, so active are the missionaries at Hamburg and Copenhagen, that besides the thirty-two educated on the foundation, twenty-three are supported either by charitable Papists, or at their own charges. Though this seminary has subsisted more than ninety years, Danish and Swedish Protestants know not what is transacting in Austria for perverting their countrymen. Attention to such things is the more necessary, as every where in Germany, Papists boast the reformation of their religion, speak favourably of toleration, and propose plans for uniting Popery and Protestantism; and many honest Protestants imagine, that others must see what they do, and that the light of philosophy and sound reason being so diffused, those of the Romish church will no longer maintain her most stumbling doctrines, which oppose such an union. To me, however, such an union appears neither possible nor desireable. I will not speak of auricular confession, image worship, purgatory, indulgences, or the intolerable yoke of the hierarchy. While the Catholic church boasts of her infallibility, and that none can be saved out of her communion, Protestants who think their own religion safe, and that no men, or bodies of men, are infallible, must renounce their principles if they thus unite. They who know not the spirit of Popery,

' ing his plan, by magistrates, and especially by military gentle-
' men.' When I compare this article, which surely was not inserted by chance in the newspapers, with the seminary at Linz, and other circumstances, I cannot avoid disagreeable reflections.

Popery, may find in the *Philosophie der religion*, 7 *bande*, 1772—1781, that the new philosophy hinders not Catholics damning all not of their communion. Joseph II. needs all his stedfastness, in counteracting the efforts of the clergy, for defeating the wise purposes of his tolerant edicts. All the reformers of Popery, Febronius and Eybel not excepted, maintain, that the infallibility and supremacy of the Pope, which they reject, only belong to the discipline of the church, not to her doctrine, which is unchangeable; and that doctrines can only be determined in a general council representing the church. Now, there having been no such council since that of Trent, there can have been no change, and consequently no improvement of the Popish doctrine. Catholics, therefore, can desire no union with us, except by our becoming Catholics, and it is a dream that their church is coming nearer Protestantism. God forbid that we should subject ourselves to the hierarchy essential to their religion, and which even Febronius and Eybel, who derive the power of Bishops immediately from God, and make every Bishop a Pope in his own diocese, do not renounce. God forbid that we should subject ourselves to a pretended infallible rule of doctrine. The Popish church is a powerful compact body, unwearied in open or secret measures for diffusing her doctrines and influence. Protestants are little united, and therefore less capable of repelling these assaults. The Popish church is a great fire: we, a little water, which, by uniting with the great fire, will only make it greater, and dissolve ourselves into nothing. The funds of the Linz seminary are well managed, and great attention is paid both to the health and to the education of the youth. When they have finished the ordinary course,

course, they are ſent from the higheſt claſs to Vienna, or ſome other Catholic univerſity, where they are ſupported till they return to their native country.

P. 562—563. Near our landing place in Vienna, was a ſmall chapel, built 1744, and dedicated to St Nepomuc, who, in the 14th century, was thrown from the bridge over the Moldau at Prague, and drowned, for refuſing to diſcloſe what Queen Joan of Bohemia had committed to him in confeſſion. In 1716, his grave was opened, and his tongue found uncorrupt. Afterwards, as is told in a pious Catholic book, on 27th January 1725, in the preſence of the Lord Deputies in the cathedral church, this holy tongue, which had become ſomewhat pale and withered, ſuddenly ſwole, and appeared in the fair, blood-red, fleſhy colour of life. Pope Benedict XIII. could not withſtand ſo evident a miracle, and therefore canonized Nepomuc, 1729. Though his ſaintſhip is of ſo late a date, an incredible number worſhip him through all Germany, eſpecially Bohemia and Auſtria, where his image is often placed on bridges and ſhores.

P. 606—611. Adjoining to the palace at Vienna is a monaſtery of Minorites, which boaſts of two miracles. A long crucifix twenty-two feet high, A. D. 1350, ſwam up the Danau againſt the ſtream, till ſtopping near Roſſau, it ſuffered itſelf to be drawn to land by a Minorite with the girdle of his order. From whence it came, is not known. The other miracle is two years older. A pit, through which, 1348, the devil dragged a man, who had communicated ſeven times in one day, after he had ſhaken him by the heels, till he had thrown up the ſeven hoſts. In the church of this monaſtery is a ſacred ſtair, on which none

walk,

walk, but all creep on their knees, becauſe many holy relics lie under it, and their covering muſt not be defiled by the foot of man. There is, however, another unconſecrated ſtair, which men may go up in their natural poſture. Above the holy ſtair maſs is ſaid, and, as one would conjecture, is dearer than a maſs on even ground. Many indulgences are obtained by creeping up the ſacred ſtair. Though none are gained by creeping down, yet that knee devotion is admired by ſpectators as an act of high ſanctity; and when the creeper-down, as often happens, is a poor vagrant, he is ſure of a plentiful alms. Some may think that ſuch legends are juggling tricks, which deſerve not to be recorded. But the veriest trifles, when they ſtrongly influence the populace, become in that view important, and by the obſerver of mankind ought not to be overlooked. Still, in the Catholic church, theſe pretended wonders are every where treated ſeriouſly, employ thouſands of men, bring a hundred thouſand dollars in circulation, and much affect the ſentiments and inclinations, not only of the vulgar, but of the learned, the rich and the noble. Such things therefore muſt not be concealed; and as I am a Proteſtant, and believe not theſe idle ſtories, none I hope will deem it an injury, that I do not relate them with the reſpect with which they would be told by a bigotted monk, or a ſuperſtitious pilgrim. They have long loſt their credit with rational Catholics; and the happy time is come, eſpecially in Auſtria, when they dare openly ſay it. Joſeph II. is gradually aboliſhing the groſſeſt abuſes; and in ſo favourable times, to lift up the voice againſt them louder than ever, is the duty of every one who would promote the reign of ſound reaſon, and aid the

Emperor's excellent designs, which, however salutary, cannot destroy prejudices. That must be done by conviction of their hurtful nature, and by adopting juster principles. A true picture of the superstitions, which I witnessed a little ago at Vienna, demonstrates at once the difficulty and the necessity of the reformation, which the Emperor with so manly fortitude has begun. Eradicating religious prejudices, which for centuries have taken deep root in the minds of men, is no easy and trifling task. The first step is, exhibiting these prejudices in their true state; for vanity or ease persuade many, that these evils are not very pernicious or extensive. Though some abuses which I witnessed may be now abolished, yet remembrance of the deep superstition in which a great part of the nation was sunk, may excite gratitude to the prince who first attempted to pull them out of it, and may inspire unwearied diligence and courage, in further opposing prejudices and abuses. For he who stops in reformation, begins to go backward. The Emperor's suffering no image, except the crucifix, in his own chapel, and the edict, February 1783, against processions and brotherhoods, are new proofs how enlightened he and his ministers are on these subjects. If many of the clergy throw obstacles in their way, others think and act with them. Who can read without emotion the excellent pastoral letter of Count Colloredo, Prince and Archbishop of Saltzburgh, an Austrian, who indeed does honour to his country? Bishop Hay at Konigsgratz, and the Bishop of Leutmeritz in Bohemia, have set noble patterns before their brethren.

P. 616. On the stone bridge in the Scots quarter of Vienna, is an unwieldy statue representing Jo. Nepomuc, and inscribed *Divo Joanni gloriofo*

glorioso sæculi thaumaturgo. I must take care of making remarks on that title; for honest Fuhrman, in his late historical description of Vienna, 2 *th. 2 band.* p. 802, says, that a roguish Lutheran stripling, who had ridiculed the wonders of this saint, had a foot struck off from his body by thunder; and that another heretic, on the same account, lost his speech. Though I often passed this bridge, I almost always saw one or other kneeling before this statue.—P. 624. Near the palace of the Pope's Nuncio in Widmer quarter, is a brazen pillar on a marble pedestal, erected 1667, in honour of Mary's immaculate conception.—P. 630. In the same quarter is the monument of the Trinity, where God the Father is represented as an old man in a long robe, &c. It was begun 1687, and finished 1693. On occasion of the dreadful plague at Vienna 1679, the Emperor Leopold vowed the erecting this pillar, and till his vow could be executed, hastily set up a wooden monument of the Trinity with such success, that, as Father Fuhrman says, the infected who applied to that monument, were cured of the plague. When however the plague returned 1713, the church of Ch. Boromeo in the suburbs, is said to have afforded a more powerful protection.—P. 639. In the Brabant monastery, in the same quarter, is an image of the Virgin, to which, as Fuhrman tells us, those in childbed often apply with success.

P. 641. In St Laurence's church, Stuben quarter, is an image of the Virgin, and the child Jesus. The under part of it was consumed in a fire, since which it has been considered as a protection in dangers from fire, and, as Fuhrman assures us, has been often invoked with great profit. Here we may apply the words,

Non ignoro mali, miseris succurrere disco.

 P. 662.

P. 662—665. In St Stephen's church, Canther quarter, is a picture of Mary with the child Jesus on a board. A Hungarian peasant, 1696, saw tears flow from the Virgin's eyes. Ogesser, a secular clergyman, in his account of St Stephen's church at Vienna 1779, says, that a Calvinist pastor, undoubtedly from hatred of our holy religion, having spread a report that these tears were a fiction, a general with several officers and common soldiers viewed the picture, and found the tears were real. The same author relates, that 1779, a black spot appeared in the cheek of this picture, whence so clear a light arose in the mind of a Lutheran, that he became Roman Catholic. To these, he adds other miracles. The necessity of Joseph II.'s reformation, appears from such things being seriously published 1779.—P. 666, 667. In the same quarter, is the nunnery of Clarissenes, which was abolished 1782. In a sale list of their goods, printed May 1783, is mentioned 919 rundlets* of Austrian wine different vintages, and 11 empty casks, which had held 569 rundlets.—P. 668. In the same quarter, near St James's church, is an image of that saint which swimmed up the Danau, as many images of saints did long ago, in Austria and Bavaria, though for a considerable time such wonders have not happened.—P. 669. In the church of the Franciscan Recollects, is a carved image of Mary, brought from a church in Bohemia, where, as Fuhrman relates ‡, the Hussites in vain attempted to cast it out of the church, to burn, or to destroy it, while it baffled their

* A rundlet is about eighteen gallons and a half.

‡ The title of the book so often referred to, is *P. Matthias Fuhrman's historische beschreibung von Wien, 3 theile, Wien* 1766—1770, 8vo.

their efforts, and resumed its old place in the church.

Beylage, p. 26. Monks love money, and hence sometimes undertake more masses than they can read, and put them off from time to time, till there is no hope of extinguishing the obligation. This happened to the Benedictine monastery at Metten, near Stroubingen in Bavaria, where were due 30,000. No other resource remaining, they applied to the Pope, who, by a dispensation, abolished the debt, only obliging the monks to remember at high mass, the poor souls to whom they were indebted. The monks owed this rescript to the intercession of a very able negociator, the Jesuit Father Schwarz, at that time assistant of the German province.

Beylage, p. 35—46, contains a lively picture of the strange mixture of praying and singing, eating, drinking and sporting, in the annual sea pilgrimages, from Vienna to Maria Taferl, and the indulgences for the most shocking crimes obtained by the pilgrims. It also transcribes the absurd arguments for these pilgrimages in a book published 1751, from Deut. xvi. 16.—1 Sam. i. 2.—1 Kings, iii. 5.—Luke ii. 41, 42.—Acts xx. 16.

Reise, von NICOLAI. 3 *Band*. Berlin, 1784.

Zusatze zum zweyten band. p. 52—57. My account, 2 *band*, p. 496. of the Linz seminary, may be supplied from *Meusel's bistoriseher literatur* 1781, 3 *st*. p. 274. It was first planed by Goldenblatt, a page of honour to Queen Christina of Sweden, who, after her death, became Jesuit. He travelled through Germany, and collected considerable sums of money, though with great secrecy. Gottseer, chaplain to the Imperial ambassador at

Sweden, carried with him six boys to Austria, when he returned 1698. Probably his successors have been employed in the same manner. Joseph I. gave a thousand florins yearly to this institution. A Popish chapel being built 1737 at Schwerin in Mecclenburg, 280 florins were sent yearly to the missionary there from Linz, for preparing four youths from the north for that seminary, and 440 florins for supporting the youths. Sanders *Reis beschreibung*, 2 *theil*. p. 462, mentions this Popish plantation, which for 50 years has been almost unknown, as other similar institutions may as yet be concealed. The Popish clergy in Carinthia, in opposition to the Emperor's edicts, endeavour to oppress the Protestants. See *Schlosser's Staatsanzeigen*, 20 *heft*. p. 414. Papists in Brandenburg, under pretence of toleration, desire to exercise their worship in Protestant churches, though in their's they allow no Protestant worship. See *Berlin Manathschrift*, Feb. 1784, p. 180. Sanders says, that many of the Swedes and Danes educated popish at Linz, are the eldest or only sons of respectable families, *loc. cit.* p. 463.

Zusatze zum dritten bande, p. 66. De Luca, in 1 *hefte, seiner Ostreichischen Staatsanzeigen*, relates, that of 19,229 children received from 1772 to 1781 into Vienna town hospital, 8445 have died. Schlosser *Br*. 19 *heft*. p. 20, terms foundling hospitals moral and natural slaughter-houses. He believes that 1700 children in the foundling hospital at Moscow, 1774, were all the remains of 5000 brought there in ten years. In Vienna, though the necessaries of life are cheap, so little affection and care do many parents discover for their children, that before a foundling hospital was there, 1500 foundlings were admitted to the town hospital.

Zusatze

Zusatze zum vierten bande, p. 82. In Schlosser's *Briefwechsel*, 30 *heft*. p. 403, is this article from *Wienner Realzeitung*, 1779.—" Dec. 1778. " The academy of the immaculate conception at " Rouen in Normandy, adjudged to Abbe Ta-" verne the prize for the best poem on the inau-" guration of the statue erected by Ferdinand III. " at Vienna, in honour of the immaculate con-" ception." A proof that Jesuitism remains there, even since the abolition of the order, for the church of Rome requires not the belief of Mary's immaculate conception.

Suburbs *of* Vienna.

Dritter band: p. 8. The correction-house at Leopoldstadt has for its patron St Anthony of Padua, famous for procuring husbands to virgins who pray to him for them. P. 10. In the monastery of the barefooted Carmelites, is an image of Mary with her head bowed. Dominicus, a Jesu Maria General of the Carmelites, is said to have found it at Rome, and to have carried it home, and washed it. The image, grateful for this kindness, bowed to him, and continues in that posture.

P. 31—33. Landstrasse. Here is the monastery of the nuns of the visitation, or of Franz van Soles, who was Archbishop of Geneva in the 16th century, and canonized 1665 by Alexander VII, among other reasons, because he had converted 72,000 heretics. The saint observed, that the influence of the tender sex in changing inclinations and pursuits, was the more successful, as it was gentle and unperceived. He therefore instituted this order of nuns, chiefly for educating young ladies, that a taste for monastic morals and devotion

devotion carefully inſtilled in youth, might accompany them when entered into the world. He even injoined, that the dreſs of the young fair ones whom they educated, ſhould be agreeable. The angelic ladies are kind and affable, but ſtill they are nuns, and therefore not ſuited for forming good wives and good mothers. The few failings of ladies of the higheſt rank at Vienna, who poſſeſs ſo many excellencies, is from education in this nunnery, being the moſt faſhionable.

P. 49, 50. (Not. *) MARGARETHENGRUND has its name from a chapel conſecrated to St Margaret, who tamed the helliſh dragon, and led him by a red-coloured cord, as if he had been a little lamb.

P. 72, 73. In ALSERGASSE is the monaſtery of the Fathers of the Trinity, who vow the redeeming Chriſtians from Turkiſh ſlavery; for which purpoſe they every where beg alms. Father Fuhrman honeſtly ſays, that they apply a third part of theſe alms for that purpoſe. What they do with the reſt, he ſays not.

COUNTRY *round* VIENNA.

P. 86. The Empreſs Maria Thereſa, celebrated for a piety more honeſt and zealous, than well informed, having a ſtrong confidence in a wooden image of the Virgin Mary in the village of Mariahitzung, that ſhe might be near it, repaired and beautified a pleaſure palace at Schunbrunn, and often reſided there.

P. 99—101. At Herrenals was a Lutheran church ſo early as 1566. The Emperor Rudolph II. cauſed ſhut it up 1578. It was again opened 1609, and notwithſtanding perſecution, crowded by many from Vienna. Ferdinand II. was a bigot and deſpot, blindly attached to the clergy, paſſionate

paſſionate and irreconcileable, great, not by perſonal merit, but the ſucceſs of his general. After the victory near Prague 1620, he attempted to gain unlimited power in Germany, and to extirpate Proteſtantiſm. In Auſtria, Proteſtants were deprived of their churches and ſchools, and if they would not renounce their religion, bereaved of their poſſeſſions and liberties, though their right of worſhipping God according to their conſciences, had been ſolemnly aſcertained to them 1568. Jarger, Lord of Herrenals, was accuſed of high treaſon, for following the convictions of his conſcience; and after four years impriſonment, his palace and property were forfeited, and a grant of them made to the *cathedral* church of St Stephen at Vienna 1625.

P. 172. Between three and four thouſand Italian prieſts ſupport themſelves at Vienna, by daily ſaying maſs, or teaching youth.

P. 187—202. In Vienna, one of 20, if not of 19, dies yearly, though only one of 25, or at moſt 24, dies yearly in Paris or London, cities almoſt thrice as populous, and where the evils of an unwieldy metropolis meet doubled. This muſt be chiefly aſcribed, not to the want of able phyſicians, or of wiſe inſtitutions for the recovery of health, but to hard eating and drinking, in which all ranks ſpend a large part of the day: 10 or 12 diſhes, and a variety of wines appearing daily at ordinary tables. Many are regiſtered in the bills of mortality as dead of apoplexies, probably cauſed by repletion and indigeſtion. The healthy appearance of a few, whoſe chief pleaſure is in ſtudy or labour, forms a ſtriking contraſt to the looks of others. Beſides, luxury promotes debauchery. The Empreſs Queen's ſeverity in puniſhing impurity, may have hindered its

appearing

appearing so openly, but could not dissolve the connexion of indolence and high living, with destructive criminal indulgences; especially, as whatever increases the expences of maintaining a family, discourages marriage; and as feasting, gaming, and parties of pleasure, often delay physicians visits to the diseased poor. Children are often infected by their nurses, which may account for what an Austrian patriot observes, that in the bills of mortality 1778—1780, for one who died in Vienna, five died in the suburbs, whose situation is more healthy. The multitude of young clergymen in Vienna living in celibacy, and of young, beautiful, finely dressed chamber-maids, increase these evils. It is astonishing and lamentable, that at Munich every fourth, at Gottingen every sixth, and at Leipzig and Jena every seventh child is a bastard. In Vienna, the number of bastards bears no proportion to the prevalence of debauchery; probably, because abortions are often procured, especially in the suburbs, and among those of lower ranks, whereby the constitution of the mothers is impaired, and their deaths hastened.

P. 202—276. contains judicious remarks on the excellencies and defects of the police at Vienna, which Maria Theresa, and Joseph II. have much improved.—P. 244, mentions a laudable institution, peculiar to Vienna, viz. Censors for inspecting the dead before their burial, that murders may be prevented or discovered, and none interred, till their death is certain.

P. 277—302. is an account equally interesting, of the different public boards and courts at Vienna, for managing civil, military, commercial and religious matters, as well as the finances, the promoting of learning, &c. Some of these have been instituted, and others reformed by Joseph II, who

who has greatly simplified business, by uniting different boards, or by separating those which had been improperly joined together. He has at the same time lessened the public charge, by withdrawing pensions, abolishing unnecessary posts, and, by his example and attention, promoting activity in all the servants of the public. The good order in his household œconomy is a striking condemnation of extravagance and dissipation. Educated in the midst of luxury and bigotry, he early got rid of prejudices; valued and practised temperance, activity, and a tolerant spirit; and did every thing in his power, to banish idleness and superstition, and to promote industry and just sentiments of religion. What pity, that a prince who loves his subjects, and who, with manly freedom of thought and fortitude, exerts himself for discovering and correcting abuses, and for finding and executing plans which might advance their true interests, should be thwarted by any of them in these noble designs!

Beylage, p. 1—157. contains lists, letters, &c. illustrating the number of inhabitants, police, hospitals, finances, taxes, &c. at Vienna. There is a receipt, p. 3. & 4. for preserving from fire houses covered with shingles or with straw.

Reise, von NICOLAI. 4 *Band*. Berlin, 1784.

P. 387—641. relates to trade, manufactures, the fine arts, music, public amusements, &c. at VIENNA. P. 549, 550. Instrumental music was banished from all their churches 1783, except the Royal Chapel and St Stephen's; and German hymns were introduced, in which the congregation joins. I wish they had more of the elevation and harmony of Protestant church songs.

Kahlbrenner

Kahlbrenner at Munich, and Steinſky at Prague, have introduced hymns as excellent as Popery can well allow. But thoſe who have ſet them to muſic, have done it without taſte. P. 630—641. In England, instrumental muſic or playing at cards on Sabbaths, is thought criminal. At Vienna, thoſe of high rank, as well as the populace of both ſexes, crowd on Sabbaths to ſee the torture of innocent animals. Nicolai's picturesque and ſhocking deſcription of this amuſement, I will not tranſlate.

P. 642—644. The government, for centuries, have expended great ſums in Auſtria, eſpecially in Vienna, upon ſchools, univerſities, libraries, &c. for promoting learning and inſtructing youth. In no part of Germany have rulers done ſo much; and their exertions merit gratitude. Yet improvements ariſing from the conviction and inclination of lower ranks, are more extenſive and firm. Rulers cannot do all by commands, by new plans, and by liberal rewards for carrying them on. Hence leſs has been done in Auſtria at great expence, than in other countries at little. Though the Auſtrians want not talents, indolence and luxury unfit them for ſerious and troubleſome exertions. Apt to be eaſily content with themſelves, when they have done a little, they ſtop ſhort, dreaming that they have already reached perfection. The Jeſuits, when they can, oppoſe the growth of knowledge; and when they cannot, endeavour to acquire the excluſive direction of education, and bend it to their own purpoſes. Nowhere have their efforts been more ſucceſsful than in Auſtria and Bavaria.

P. 645—650. Schools for educating the children of the common people, though by many viewed as of ſmall importance, are indeed of

much

much greater than learned universities. What will it avail mankind, if a few acquire knowledge, and millions remain ignorant and uncultivated? The first German schools were erected in Austria 1551, when the greatest part of it was Protestant. The Jesuits, zealous for extirpating Lutheranism, promoting Popery, and increasing the influence of their own order, unweariedly exerted themselves, that schools might be removed from Protestant direction, and subjected to their own. By early bending the tender mind, they hoped to extend their power over all ranks. In 1596, schools were prohibited from teaching any catechism, except that of Father Canisius the Jesuit. When Ferdinand II. suppressed Protestantism in Austria 1626, the Jesuits obtained the direction of all the schools, which they retained till a little before the abolition of their order, and in which they have still a greater share of influence than is generally thought. Though too great for teaching German schools, they took care that they should be provided with teachers devoted to and dependent upon them; and that the school books, prayers and devotional tracts, should be calculated for instilling their principles, and fettering freedom of thought. By legends of St Aloysius, of the red-coloured heart of Jesus, &c. they instil and cherish superstition. After the emigration of the Protestant Saltzburgers 1733, and many vain efforts of the Archbishop of Saltzburg, for many years, to make that whole country Popish, F. Parhammer, by order of his superiors, travelled about, catechised, and on Sabbaths instructed the people, as to the visible head of the church, the authority of traditions, the acceptableness of monastic vows, &c. The reputation this missionary gained by his success, occasioned his being ap-

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pointed Father Confessor to the Emperor Francis, where, we may easily suppose, he would act an important part. Afterwards he obtained the direction of an orphan house, whence 200 children were yearly dismissed to families of every rank. In 1750, the Society of Christian instruction which he had erected in Saltzburg, extended to and spread widely through Austria. Thus the Jesuits, under pretence of religion, having acquired the direction of the common schools, were enabled to gain to their order those, though of the meanest stations, in whom they discerned talents suited to their plans.

P. 650—676. Much has been said of the attention paid to the education of children in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, of the better management of schools, and of the seminaries for training up teachers; especially since Felbiger, Prior of St Augustine's church at Sagan in Silesia, travelled in 1754, and again in 1763 to Berlin, to learn the management of the real school there, and approved it so much, that he instituted a similar one at Sagan 1763. Though these improvements seemed unfavourable to the Jesuits, the address and policy of that artful sect turned them to their advantage. Parhammer, in 1768, sent one Felkel to Sagan to learn that method, which was introduced, 1769, into Parhammer's orphan house. In a matter so important, there is no doubt he acted by direction of the order. When afterwards, by Felbiger's direction, the normal school was erected at Vienna, Felkel, so intimately connected with the Jesuits, was one of the first teachers. Both the catechists were Ex-Jesuits; and the books of instruction in this normal school agreed with theirs. In 1770, a school commission was established in every province, and

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in every chief city a normal ſchool, on whoſe direction the common ſchools of the province depended, as all the directors did on the ſupreme direction at Vienna. In forming theſe plans Felbiger was left at full liberty. No uſe was made of the improvements in education ſince 1754, which in every part of Germany, Auſtria perhaps alone excepted, had gained ſuch general attention. The books taught in theſe ſchools, and the knowledge acquired in them, are mean and inconſiderable. The worſt of all is, that the normal ſchools are a monopoly. Even private inſtructions not agreeable to them, and employing family teachers not educated in them, are forbidden. What can be more deſpotic, than confining to one rule the inſtruction of all children, without regard to their rank or capacity? By theſe reſtraints, progreſs in the art of teaching is rendered impoſſible. Hence in Vienna, there are no private ſeminaries for education. If a Campe or a Trapp came there, they would not be admitted to teach, without ſlaviſhly following the wretched plan of the normal ſchool. Jankowitz was ſent, 1782, from Vienna to Peterſburg, to introduce normal ſchools. If the defects of theſe in Auſtria are not guarded againſt, and men are confined to one method of education, this will be no advantage to Ruſſia. Felbiger was allowed, 1782, to quit the direction of the normal ſchools, and to go to his Provoſtſhip at Preſburg. But the ſchools remain on their former footing. That the normal ſchools have done no ſervice, I would not aſſert. Spoliarowitz, Captain of the Grandiſcan regiment, wrote 1780, "I am the firſt ſcholar who was taught in a normal ſchool; for at that time none in that country could either read or write German; and therefore, military orders were read and ex-

 "plained

"plained to the officers by the Franciscans."—See *Felbiger's Grasse der wablthat der Normal Scholen. Prag.* 1781, p. 82. If this book had not been published in the Emperor's hereditary dominions, such things existing in them between the years 1770 & 1780 would have seemed incredible. The Popish schools in Silesia, before Felbiger's improvements, were on a still more wretched footing. But why retain in Austria all the imperfections of his plan, and prohibit every thing better?

P. 677—681. In the Latin schools under the direction of the Jesuits, pitiful books are taught, and the plan of teaching is absurd. Of nine years spent in teaching Latin, seven are employed on the parts of speech and syntax.

P. 682—690. That men may be qualified for the learned professions, and new inventions in the sciences promoted, the Protestant German universities supply vacant chairs, by men of literary merit, and who have distinguished themselves by their writings. With the Popish universities, a few instances excepted, it is the reverse. Papists upbraid our universities as fairs, where science is exposed to sale, for attracting foreign purchasers; while their's are designed to instruct natives in what is profitable, not to collect strangers from the ends of the earth. I acknowledge that Protestant princes often consider universities as sources of wealth, and allure strangers by introducing or keeping up many abuses. The charge of complying with the prejudices and humours of parents, and conniving at folly, obstinacy and vice, cannot be equally brought against Popish universities. Still the great question remains, What is taught, in what manner, and for what purpose? Now, Popish universities serve for little, save the support

support of the hierarchy. A subtile scholastic philosophy, a casuistry unsuitable to human nature, a study of the Fathers, without taste or true criticism, and other dreams of the brain, which have no tendency to make men wiser or better, are their chief study. A few years only have elapsed, since sound philosophy, the classic authors, history, the law of nature, chemistry, and even medicine, and a rational explication of scripture, have been studied; and, as yet, they flourish in few of their universities. Among Protestants, professors contend who shall excel in science: among Papists, what monastic order shall have the greatest influence. Many boasted changes and reformations, are little more than one order getting into professorships, and excluding another. This determines what system shall be introduced; whether the doctor *subtilis*, the doctor *angelicus*, or the doctor *seraphicus*, shall darken the understandings of youth; and whether traditions shall be taught according to Thomas, to Scotus, or to Busenbaum. An Austrian writer in *Schlosser's Staatsanzeigen*, 3 *heft.* p. 354, mentions the following regulation in the university of Vienna: "None shall hear "prelections on the law of nature, and on the "institutes, who have not studied natural philo-"sophy: and none shall hear prelections on logic, "who do not at the same time study mathema-"tics." The true cause of this strange ordinance is, that the professors of the law of nature, of the institutes, and of logic, are laymen, who obtained their offices in opposition to the Jesuits, by the influence of their great enemy Martini; and that the professors of mathematics and natural philosophy, are still Jesuits, whose lectures many are thus obliged, against their inclination, to attend.

P. 691—699. Under Ferdinand II., the Jesuits obtained, 1622, the full possession of the university of Vienna; in which they were first disturbed by Van Swieten, 1754. In the plenitude of their power, from a refined policy, leaving to others the honour of the rectorship, they took care that the direction of the university should be in their hands, not in the rector's. Since deprived of the direction, their influence has procured that honour to those of their order. F. Parrhamer, a man of no learning, whose only merit was being a bigotted Ex-Jesuit, was chosen rector, 1782. Rector and professors, that at least they might be outwardly devoted to their order, were obliged yearly, 8th December, to swear the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. Nay, through their astonishing influence, the Sovereign yearly took that oath. Joseph II. took it, 8th December 1781: But Professor Schwarzl at Inspruch, refusing to take it that very day, a dispute arose, which occasioned the Emperor's abolishing that oath, 3d June 1782. The Empress Queen, moved by Van Swieten's high reputation, appointed to the various branches of the medical faculty, professors whom he recommended, as happily none of the Jesuits were qualified, by diligent study and long practice, for these chairs. Bishop Stock deprived them of the professorship of canon law, and bestowed it on a secular priest; and placed Dominicans and Augustines in the theological faculty. I have been assured that the Jesuits offered the good Bishop 20,000 florins to gain him over to their interest, which he honourably refused. Baron Martini, who, after the abolition of their order, 1773, had the inspection of the university studies, with manly fortitude opposed their open and secret designs, improved the law and philosophy faculties,

faculties, deprived the order of their exclusive right to fill philosophy chairs, and erected some new and important professorships. In 1776, he was deprived of his office, and happily freed from much care and trouble.

P. 705—708. Vienna university seems fallen into a lethargy since Van Swieten's death. That great man, for curbing the influence of the Jesuits, recommended directors who introduced books and methods of teaching opposite to their's. This had bad effects, which he saw not. The directors, often men of little learning and much superstition, restrained the professors from exertions for which they had sufficient inclination and ability. Machines in the hands of the directors, they must do what they prescribe, and nothing more. No professor can give a private college without the directors consent.

P. 770—786. The Jesuits, 1746, persuaded the Empress Queen to erect an academy for the education of the sons of families of the highest rank. Their chief design undoubtedly was, that these youths, being withdrawn from public education, and intercourse with men of the world, might be formed to their principles, and under their influence in after life. In the Theresianum, for so was this academy named, there were from the beginning 54 Jesuit priests, and 7 lay brothers. After the order was abolished, many who belonged to it remained in their labours, though the direction was given to a Piarist, F. Gratian Marx, known for his wretched school books. To this is now united, the Savoy academy, for 70 sons of poor officers, which was also managed by the Piarists. I could not procure permission to attend this academy at their teaching hours. At Vienna, it is generally thought not preferable to other schools,

though

though they are well provided with external helps for learning, and for useful experiments. Vast must be the expence of the united institution: for, 1781, there were 170 scholars, 7 superior directors, 2 directors of studies; and under them, 80 professors, teachers and domestics, in all 89; *i. e.* for every two scholars, one aged person was supported. How foolishly are these sums expended! Those of high birth bid fairer for usefulness in life, when from their youth educated with those of lower ranks. High ideas of the distinction of birth, instilled by a separate education, often produce inattention to the higher distinctions of knowledge and merit. Men, who were themselves educated in monasteries, must be unfit for educating others for domestic and social life. The chief preservatives recommended in this institution, against the sins of which youth is in greatest danger, are monthly, or even weekly confession, and frequent devotions to St Aloysius, that through his intercession they may learn to live chastely. The supposition that 170 well born youths could not be educated to as great advantage without this enormous expence, is disgraceful for the Vienna academy, and other schools in that city. In Protestant universities, young princes often study with the sons of peasants. The characters of the rich and honourable are much improved by early intercourse with those below them in rank and fortune; and connexions are formed, which, in after life, even statesmen often find of the greatest advantage. He, whose education is solitary, like an Indian in his castle, lives solitary. It is said, this institution is to be abolished. My remarks upon it equally apply to Count Lawenburg's college, opened 1748, under the care of the Piarist

fathers,

fathers, for 80 young Austrian and Hungarian noblemen.

P. 786—814. contains accounts of the military and oriental academies, and the seminary for the dumb.

P. 814—843. In Lambecius's time, who came to Vienna 1662, and died 1680, the imperial library contained 10,000 manuscripts in all languages, many of them highly important. Though his catalogue of them, 8 vol. folio, seldom illustrates their age, contents or importance, it is valuable. We now know something as to a part of the manuscripts which that library possessed before 1680; whereas, without his labours, we had known nothing of them. The additions in the librarian Kollar's new edition, 1782, are of small importance. Two thirds of his remarks are from *Fabricii Bibliotheca Græca*; and no account is given of 2000 manuscripts purchased these last hundred years. No man of learning having employed his diligence in continuing Lambecius's work, manuscripts, purchased at great expence by Austrian princes, except about a seventh part, remain a hidden and an useless treasure. How many facts might be discovered and illustrated by 1300 historical, and 800 philological manuscripts! Yet the chief value of a library is in a good collection of old and new books for the use of the learned; in which respect, Gottingen library is perhaps the usefullest in Germany. In Lambecius's time, there were 90,000 printed books in the imperial library, which has been since greatly increased, and many important foreign books purchased under Swieten's direction: yet, compared with Gottingen library, it is very defective, especially as to books printed the last 40 years. The books remained in great disorder, till Kollar reduced them to some order,

1748.

1748. Lambecius placed books by heretics in a peculiar and remote chamber; while such insipid books as *Vogel's S. I. Legende der heiligen*, *Scheyb's Leben der Nepomuc*, &c. stand in an open and honourable place. Philosophical, political and historical, as well as theological books, by Non-Catholics, such as, *Mendelsohn's Phædon*, *Susmilch's Gottliche Ordnung*, *Iselin's geschichte der menscheit*, *Abbt's correspondence*, must, as criminals, be imprisoned. Licence to read such books, under the Empress Queen, was only procured from the Pope's Nuncio. The library is wretchedly defective in historical books. It is less wonderful that it contains not the works of a Michaelis or a Kennicot. There is reason to hope that the blemishes and defects of this library will be corrected, and its usefulness increased, under the younger Van Swieten, who ordered, 1781, a new catalogue of the printed books. It is daily open from 9 to 12 forenoon. If the librarians won't open it both parts of the day, perhaps access to it in afternoons would be more useful, as giving and attending prelections exclude many in the forenoons. The Count of Windhag and Field-Marshal Pockstein's libraries at Vienna, are open from 9 to 12 forenoon, and from 2 to 4 afternoon.

P. 851—876. The clergy have found the censuring books a powerful engine for strengthening their interest, and hindering the growth of knowledge in Austria. This censure was committed 1732 to the university, *i. e.* to the Jesuits, who then directed it, and condemned whatever was not catholic. Van Swieten, wishing to curb their influence, procured the appointment of persons not Jesuits, and partly laymen, as a college under his direction for censuring books. Such however was the severity of this college, in licensing

cenſing books, and in allowing their importation, that knowledge gained little by the change. Learned as Van Swieten was, yet, blinded by religious and philoſophic prejudices, he entertained deſpotic principles, hoſtile to free inquiry. A catalogue of prohibited books, in which the vileſt and the moſt uſeful were equally condemned, appeared 1765. In 1777 that catalogue was prohibited, leſt men, learning from it what books were bad, ſhould be more anxious to procure them. After Van Swieten's death, things grew worſe; the Empreſs Queen, through the influence of the Jeſuits, often interpoſing with her hand-billets. In 1779, under pretence of ſearching the ſhops at Prague for looſe and immoral books, the moſt uſeful books by the beſt German writers were carried off. By ſome accident, *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* was ſpared till 1778, when not only all that was, but all that ſhould be publiſhed of that work, was prohibited. In 1781 the moſt valuable Engliſh books were almoſt unknown at Vienna. Soon after, the Emperor preſcribed milder rules for cenſure. I have ſeen a liſt for June 1783, in which the prohibited books are not mentioned. At the end of theſe fully allowed, is marked, *Admittitur*. At the end of others, which ſhould only be given to perſons of judgment at the diſcretion of the cenſors, *Toleratur*. With this mark of diſgrace, *Meisner's Alcibiades*, and my *Reiſe*, 1 & 2 *Band*, are branded. It merits praiſe, that theſe cenſors, though not wholly rid of old prejudices, diſcovering a more equitable and tolerant ſpirit than their predeceſſors, have only prohibited three or four books the laſt two years, and allow the learned to read good books, the peruſing of which would have formerly been deemed criminal. It would be a more uſeful labour, if they

they made known and recommended books, of which, though admired through a great part of Germany, many in Vienna never heard the names. *Raiko*, in his *History of the Council of Constance*, published, 2 vol. 8vo, Vienna, 1783, complains, in his preface to that excellent fruit of the liberty of the press, that he was not able to procure L'Enfant's history of that Council. A late ordinance, that no book which has not the name of the author prefixed, should be published without the special allowance of the censor, in many cases must hinder freedom of writing. Censors have to do with things, not with names. He who writes what is allowable, should be at liberty, if he chooses, to conceal his name; and when a censor sees cause to hinder the publishing of a work, he has no occasion for knowing who composed it.

P. 876—924. None who is ignorant of the wretched state of learning and of the art of thinking in Austria thirty years ago, and the difficulties and opposition which the late improvements had to encounter, can sufficiently estimate their value. It should not therefore dispirit Austria, that she is far behind Protestant Germany. Let not her patriots relax their efforts, from dreams that they have attained perfection. Rather, let them be excited to redress remaining defects, and to improve the advantage of a government which encourages progress in knowledge. The progress of reason and science in all Popish countries, especially in Austria, has been thwarted by the power of the hierarchy. The Papist adopts the decisions of the church: the Protestant examines and decides for himself. Hence, among the last, speculative and practical knowledge has advanced with greater ease and speed, though in some

Popish

Popish countries more has been expended than in any Protestant ones, for advancing science. How shameful, that in the 18th century there should be Protestants, who wish the uniting us again to the Catholic hierarchy! The proofs of this, incredible as it seems to some, begin to be visible, and merit the attention of every honest Protestant. The belief of an infallible church, without which there is no salvation, checks the free use of the human understanding. If the church is infallible, her wisdom is sufficient, and to her dictates we owe unlimited subjection. If she pronounces a heresy damnable, there is no occasion to inquire farther. If she prohibits a book as of dangerous tendency, searching into its contents becomes criminal. Nothing can be absurd which she receives, nothing hurtful which she prescribes, nothing good which she rejects. It is a rule of the Piarists, *Ne vel minimum quid, licet sanctissimum, absque expressa ducis sui facultate faciat.* See *Orden's Regeln der Piaristen. Hall.* 1783. 1 *Theil. p.* 21. It is observed in that book, that the Jesuit provincial of Bohemia, 1760, composed constitutions for the Piarists, secretly kept by the adepts of the order. This shows, that men, esteemed an innocent order of schoolmasters, had a connexion with the Jesuits, the dangerous consequences of which may afterwards appear. That all the world should be as sheep, blindly following their ecclesiastical guides, is a consummation by the infallible church devoutly wished for. The Jesuits do, speak, think nothing, without the permission of their superiors; and, in so far as their influence reaches, they would hinder others from doing what these superiors disapprove. Hence, in Austria, they have so much restrained liberty of reading and writing books; im-

priſoned, or rather oppreſſed freedom of thought; and prevented arguments againſt their church, and eſpecially their own order, from being known. If a Proteſtant publiſhes what is highly excellent, one of their order is employed to write ſomething ſimilar, that thus in them all knowledge may ſeem to centre. Theſe excluſive claims of wiſdom, and endeavours that all others ſhould remain ſtupid and inactive, renders them a ſociety pernicious to mankind, though (for which we have no ſecurity) they ſhould no more attempt to overturn ſtates, and no longer maintain the unlimited power of the church over princes, and the lawfulneſs of murdering them, moral probabiliſm, the philoſophic ſin, the lawfulneſs of equivocation. Add to this, the bigotted, ſuperſtitious, defective education of the Auſtrian youth; the prevailing fondneſs for pleaſure, and averſion to application, among all ranks; and Auſtrians travelling to France and Italy, where they ſuck in the follies and prejudices of theſe countries; inſtead of travelling through Germany, which might teach them the happier ſtate of the Proteſtant provinces. Taſte could not ſpread among youth, where the beſt German, Engliſh, and French authors were unknown. The firſt ſtep to improvement, was ſome of Gottſched's ſcholars coming to Vienna, and raiſing a love to the German language. The Proteſtant Saxons and Sileſians, who came to Vienna twenty-five years ago, though not firſt-rate geniuſes, were free from the prejudices which darkened Auſtria, had enjoyed a better learned education, and had read many uſeful books, the truths in which were unknown in that city; and poſſeſſed meaſures of knowledge in which the natives were at leaſt fifty years behind. To deny the happy influence of this, would be ingratitude.

gratitude. One effect was, Popowitsh, a man of solid learning, though without taste, being appointed teacher of German eloquence in the university. In 1754, Gebler came to Vienna, a man of deep penetration, great wisdom and activity, well acquainted with the improvements of Protestant countries in knowledge, and with the books of their best writers. As he acquired influence, unweariedly, though with prudent caution, he exerted it, for amending what, through the situation of affairs, could be amended; and secretly sowed good seed, which has not been unfruitful. In the high office which he now possesses, he has opportunities, and doubtless will avail himself of them, for further reformation. By the influence of Van Swieten, Martini was appointed Professor of the Law of Nature, who, by deriving from philosophic truths consequences important to mankind, promoted among his scholars a spirit of inquiry, and formed many now distinguished in Austria as men of learning or statesmen. Sanenfels, Kieger, and others of his scholars, animated, as they acknowledged, by the reading good Protestant writers, to the love of their language and of the *belles lettres*, erected a society for these purposes 1760. The recommending authors not Austrians or Catholics, to the imitation of their countrymen, led their enemies to name them the *Lutheran German Society*. Yet, in different weekly papers, the first fruits of their association, important truths, hitherto unknown in Austria, were told, and a new taste of reading introduced. These unripe essays were however far from the perfection which their authors dreamed; and envy and jealousy arising among them in 1765, all was full of conten-

tion *; and the ſanguine youths imagined all Germany would be inſtructed by their ſociety, and intereſted in their debates. Though theſe debates are now forgotten, men were accuſtomed to write in a better ſtyle, to renounce at leaſt ſome groſſer prejudices, and to dare to look truth in the face. Some ground was gained from the hierarchy, notwithſtanding her efforts to maintain her old claims. In this twenty years period, the works of Gehler, Sannenfels, Taube, Dennis, &c. did honour to Auſtria. Much however ſtill remains to be done. The influence of the hierarchy everywhere appears. Men, not altogether uninſtructed, retain many prejudices, contracted by their confined monaſtic education. Men of learning and ſtateſmen knew not even the names of the moſt uſeful books, or formed very indiſtinct ideas of their contents. French books, ſuch as *Voltaire's Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopedie*, now diſregarded in the northern parts of Germany, were their claſſic authors. Some were indifferent to the ſubjects of books; others could not procure the freedom of reading them. Many complained to me, that they found few who could enter into their ideas. Even among thoſe of whom you would leaſt ſuſpect it, there was very imperfect information of the political, commercial, literary, and moral ſtate of the reſt of Germany, eſpecially of the Proteſtant part of it. Hence aroſe an abſurd overvaluing Auſtria. Before 1777, when *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, was prohibited, as many or more copies were ſold in every conſiderable

* Not only my travels, but my correſpondence with many German writers, which began with my *Bibliothek der Schonen Wissenschaften*, and much increaſed with my *Briefe die Neueste Literatur Betreffend*, and with my *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, has furniſhed me with great information as to the hiſtory of theſe tranſactions.

derable Protestant city, in Hamburgh four times as many, as in all the hereditary dominions. The case is much the same since the importation of that journal was again connived at, December 1783. A little after I was in Vienna, the Emperor's edicts appeared for the freedom of the press, for liberty of reading foreign useful books, and for curbing the Papal hierarchy, though episcopal and priestly powers are still too great. Important effects may be expected from these edicts, if the same justice of thinking, and unwearied activity, appear in the subjects, as in the sovereign; and if the steady application so necessary for studying to purpose, become as common in Austria, as indolence and effeminacy have hitherto been. Counsellor *Eybel's Essay on Auricular Confession*, will be an important book for Popish Germany, if it procure the abolishing a rite which has so much corrupted mankind, and subjected them to priests and monks. But, while the church is deemed infallible in matters of doctrine, it will be disputed whether auricular confession belongs to doctrine or discipline; and the important question, whether it is or is not commanded, and whether it is salutary or hurtful, will be left out of sight. In consequence of the liberty of the press, a huge multitude of little, though high-priced tracts, are daily published at Vienna. *Blumauer Beobachtungen uber Oestreichs Aufklarung, Wien* 1783, p. 36, says, that from 1st April 1781 to 30th September 1782, there were published in Vienna 1172 tracts. That so many insipid incorrect performances should be speedily purchased and read, is no favourable symptom of the public taste. Such wretched publications would find readers in no other city of Germany. But in Vienna, a pamphlet of a sheet or two, which contains no-

 thing

thing deep, excites curiosity by its title for a day or two, gives a little entertainment in reading and conversation, and by the third day is forgotten; whereas few would look at a book that required attention and thought. Insignificant tracts relating to little events in Vienna, from the chamberbaid to the Pope, and from the dog or cat to the Archbishop, always find readers whose curiosity they gratify, and whose taste they suit. Meantime, the people are accustomed to dispute about matters formerly received with blind reverence. Many absurdities and abuses are exposed, and sometimes truths boldly defended; though useful tracts bear a small proportion to the rest, and what is best in many is shameful plagiarism. Lasting improvements are chiefly to be expected from a thinking and active cast in those of the middle ranks. From them they will spread to the lower classes of the people, if their spirit is not sunk by poverty, superstition, laziness, and gross sensuality; and to those of higher stations, if their feelings of what is important to mankind are not blunted by pride, riches, indolence, the prejudices of education, and a refined pursuit of pleasure.

Reise, *von* NICOLAI. 5 *Band*. Berlin, 1785.

P. 4. (Note **.) Twenty years ago, all the German Catholic divines maintained, that the Pope, even without a general council, is infallible. Still no Austrian will venture to deny, that the decisions of a general council are void and null, without the Pope's confirmation.—P. 5. In Austria or Bavaria, 1784, a treatise was published, entitled, *Sund die Catholischen geistlichen den weltlichen Regenten unterthan?* where it is urged,

p. 20, that the dignity of the clergy being the highest on earth, it would be absurd to suppose them subject to temporal magistrates, a lower order of men. And, p. 23. " A deacon, priest, or " bishop, in his conduct, whatever it be, is sub- " ject to no magistrate." Is not this saying, that if he commits high treason, the civil magistrate has no right to call him to an account?

P. 16, 17. When I was at Vienna, religion seemed to be placed in the multitude of the priests and monks, of images, relics, masses, pilgrimages, processions, auricular confessions, indulgences, penances, signings with the cross, sprinklings with holy water, &c.

P. 17—33. There is little spiritual in the greater part of the bishops and canons. Great pomp, great luxury, little scruple at debauchery, though some caution in concealing it. Hunting, plays, card-tables, employ more of their time than study and devotion. There is more learning and zeal for religion among the lower clergy, though even many of them have nothing spiritual except their dress. The character of the monks of different orders, and their influence in promoting superstition, and discouraging freedom of thought, many late writers have exposed.

P. 34—44. A pretended enlightened catholic, *Kuch. Glaubenbekentniss, Wien.* 1782, p. 31, says, Though God alone is omniscient, saints may know our prayers, by God or the holy angels imparting to them that knowledge. Strange apology for asking their intercession! If God alone is omniscient, angels may be ignorant of our prayers: and if God must acquaint the saints that we address them to intercede for us; then we should pray to God to desire the saints to pray for us. The bulk of Catholics neither understand nor regard

gard the distinction of *latria*, *doulia*, and *hyper-doulia*, but worship saints as they do God, and even more. *Fast*, in his *Catholischen Unterrichte*, *Wien*. 1783, has the impudence to say, that the saints do more wonders than God, and that therefore more candles should be lighted for their honour. For one prayer to God, fifty are addressed to the mother of God. To this the Jesuits have greatly contributed, by their doctrine of Mary's immaculate conception. No idea can be more absurd, than that the Pope can canonize a sinful man, and enjoin his worship; and yet this is a chief support of the Papal hierarchy. The honour is often bestowed for the most pitiful and unworthy causes. The greatest part of the Catholic clergy seek to spread ludicrous stories of their holiness and miracles. Every Popish country abounds with little books on these subjects, and with forms of prayer to saints. Thousands of their pictures or statues are in churches, monasteries, houses, streets, and highroads, and lesser ones are laid in their books, or worn on their necks by young and old. Almost every saint has a peculiar department of help and patronage. I have inserted, *Beylage* ii. 2., a hymn to Saint Ann, who changed a monster, black as a coal with two horns on his head, to a child beautiful as an angel; and a prayer to St Francis Solanus, who had the gift of quieting earthquakes. He who would more fully know what tales of saints are believed by Papists, may consult the Jesuit *Vogel's Leben und Sterben derer heiligen*. 2 *bande*. 4to. *Bamberg*. 1777.

P. 44—48. Still more ridiculous is the worship of bones, hairs, and other pretended relics of saints. If a small bone belonged to the brain or nose, it is cased in a silver head, large as the life; if

if to the arm, in a ſilver arm: or, if the worſhipper of old bones is not rich or generous enough to ſet them in ſilver, they are ſet in wood ſilverized or painted with oil colours. Sometimes the touching theſe fancied relics of ſaints, perhaps real relics of a Heathen or Turk, procure indulgences. The ſame relics are ſhown in different places; God, as the Jeſuit Ferrand aſſerts, multiplying them by his omnipotence. See *La Croze Dissertations Historiques, Rot.* 1707. p. 207. Curioſity leads many to viſit churches which have large collections of theſe relics richly ſet. But the ſcarceſt relics are entire ſkeletons of ſaints, generally dreſſed in gold or ſilver ſtuffs, placed on cuſhions of the ſame coſtly materials, and laid in a coffin with glaſs windows on each ſide. The head is encircled with a garland or crown of artificial flowers or precious ſtones, or with ſilver rays repreſenting a glory. I give a picture, *Beylage*, xiii. 3. of the body of St Reſtituta, as thus exhibited for worſhip at Vienna, and the ſuperſtitious prayers addreſſed to her; and as a contraſt, a fine head of St Athanaſius, ſaid to drive away apparitions. Almoſt every church in Vienna boaſts of wonder-working images. Many who imagine they have obtained cures or deliverances from them, bring offerings, which are hung on the altar of the ſaint; *e. g.* if a foot was cured by his interceſſion, a golden, ſilver, or waxen foot; if one has ſucceeded in ſelling cattle, the image of an ox; or if a lady thinks ſhe has conceived through the interceſſion of a ſaint, the image of a child. To the offering is generally joined a tablet, expreſſing why they were preſented. By the Emperor's orders 1784, the golden and ſilver offerings were taken away for the religious cheſt, but the tablets were allowed to remain. And thus

thus the axe was not laid to the root of superstition.

P. 49—66. The pomp and ceremonies of popish worship, to many must seem strange. Thousands of wafers of bread are pretended to be changed to God, by priests deriving this power from episcopal ordination. Various rites are appropriated to masses on different occasions, in studying which the clergy must spend much precious time. When solemn mass is performed at a great church in Vienna, there is such confusion, and running backward and forward, as at a yearly fair. Sometimes mass is celebrated at ten or twelve altars in the same church. At one, the priest cries, *Dominus vobiscum*; at another, a little bell rings, that the people may fall on their knees. Here, one whispers his devotions from a prayer-book; there, confession is heard; and at yonder altar the communion dispensed. So great and constant is the noise, that hardly would the voice of thunder be heard. Something is often whispered very different from prayers; and one places himself near a lady who is confessing, from motives the reverse of spiritual. The last mass, especially in the Capuchine church, at half twelve at night, is often frequented by women of bad fame for making assignations, and young men come to see what new game-fowl is there. Indeed, only young thoughtless people allow themselves in such indecencies; but it is remarkable, they are to be found in the lowest ranks. The greatest part carefully put on every outward show of devotion, especially in the time of Maria Theresa, when spies were employed, who particularly observed where men of rank heard mass on Sabbaths or festivals, when and to whom they confessed, how they observed fast days, and what,

and

and with whom, they then eated. Though all this attention of Government has now ceased, the caution of many remains; for none knows, say they, what times may come. Besides, men of rank often retain early contracted habits in after life, without discerning their folly. To masses I might add vespers, matins, priestly benedictions, and especially Pope Pius VI. bestowing his benediction on many thousands at Vienna, 1782, after he had celebrated high mass in St Stephen's Church. Peasants and others whom he blessed from the balcony of the Imperial palace, cried out, "My Lord Pope, to thee I live, to thee I "die: living and dying I am thine." The virtues ascribed to the sign of the cross, and to sprinkling with holy water, are well known. Not only houses and cattle are blessed, but lands are sprinkled with holy water by the begging friars, for promoting their fruitfulness. A Popish poet tells a droll anecdote of a monk, who showed a peasant his fine field of corn, and asked him, if the benediction had not promoted the crop. The peasant replied,

Ja! ja! der segen is wohl gut,
Vom heiligen gewasser.
Ich glaube schon, das er wunder thut!
Doch kuchdreak is noch besser.

Yes! yes! the blessing's rich and good,
Which springs from holy water.
Wonders, I credit you, it doth!
Yet cows dung doth still greater!

When children are sick or teething, written or printed benedictions are hung about their necks. Men of no mean rank often fix them on windows or

or chamber doors, as preservatives from storms or witchcraft.

P. 66—74. Processions suppose, that God is more honoured by a walking and noisy, than by a standing or sitting devotion. Idleness, pomp and pageantry, make them agreeable to the vulgar; and the clergy's authority gains by their place of honour on such occasions. I witnessed many processions in Vienna, and particularly the great one on Corpus Christi day, 14th June 1781, which, though less magnificent than usual, through the absence of the Emperor and most of his court, consisted of at least 2000 persons. Forty-seven corporations, walking with their respective crosses and banners, began the procession. Next the orphan children. Then a multitude of monks in their most magnificent mass habits. Then the parochial and beneficed clergy. Then the members of several brotherships. Then the officers of the city regiment and the town senate. Then the archbishop's clergy, or the curates and canons of St Stephen's, men who had neither birth, learning nor merit to recommend them, between the knights of St Stephen's, of Maria Theresa, and of the Golden fleece, men of the first families or most distinguished worth. Behind them followed the Dean and Rector Magnificus of the university. The Corpus Christi was borne in a superb shrine by the Cardinal Archbishop, who appeared that day in all the pomp of the spiritual dignity, and indeed enjoyed the honours seemingly paid to the consecrated host. The poles of the shrine under which he walked, were borne by aldermen; and the fringes by gentlemen of the Emperor's bed-chamber. On both sides marched the noble Imperial German guards, with shouldered muskets, and their hats off. The Emperor and Arch-dukes

dukes being abſent, the Privy Counſellors, the Chamberlain and other courtiers, with burning wax lights, followed next. By them rode a ſmall detachment of beautiful noble Hungarian body guards. They were followed by a multitude of the female ſex. A troop of grenadiers, with drums beating, cloſed the proceſſion. It ſet out from St Stephen's church, and marched through all the principal ſtreets, till it returned there again. When the Cardinal came before the Trinity pillar, he ſtept from his throne, placed himſelf near an altar, and gave the whole aſſembly his bleſſing. Here he ſtood in his full glory, and thouſands fell on their knees, and received nothing: For what could they receive from the motion of the air cut croſs-ways by his fingers? At length the ſoldiers formed a circle, and gave three fires: and his eminence with the ſhrine again returned under his throne, and the proceſſion went forward. One who was with me ſaid, that he thought the ſcene ſolemn and ſtriking. I plainly told him, I thought the reverſe. What profit is there, that thouſands imagine themſelves bleſſed, who remain what they were before, bating the time loſt in the proceſſion? Happy they who truſt in the divine bleſſing. God, and God only can bleſs. Why this proceſſion ſhould not have been aboliſhed with the reſt, is to me inconceivable. The Cardinal Archbiſhop, the man who openly and ſecretly has reſiſted the Emperor's plans for religious reformation, appears yearly as the moſt dignified perſon in this proceſſion, walks under a clerical throne, followed by the Emperor himſelf, if preſent, while many thouſands, and the Emperor himſelf, fall on their knees to receive his bleſſing; as if a rebel could bleſs his ſovereign and fellow ſubjects. The civil and military honours ſeemingly paid to the hoſt, are really

ly intended for exalting the destructive power of the hierarchy. Presenting and firing their muskets in honour of God, is absurd; but presenting and firing them before the Archbishop has a real importance. The multitude honour him as a prince and high-priest; and thus superstition annually displays her trophies, while her great promoter marches in triumph through all the streets of the capital.

P. 75—79. Pilgrimages are great promoters of idleness, superstition and impurity, those engaged in them not scrupling criminal gratifications, the guilt of which, they flatter themselves, confession and absolution will soon wash away. Most of them are made to some miraculous image; and hardly can one travel 20 miles, without finding an image thus honoured. Even when seeming seriousness, and many whisperings of *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias* go on during the pilgrimage, an absolution being obtained, eating and drinking, often wantonness and dissipation, succeed devotion.

P. 79—86. There were many brotherhoods in Vienna when I was there, 1781. The Emperor abolished them 1783, and transferred their funds to the poor. Since the 16th century, the clergy have promoted such societies, that they might with more ease bend men united in them to their views. The Jesuits at Vienna formed 12 brotherships, mostly in honour of the Virgin. In some, only princes and the highest nobility; in others mechanics, in others students, in others ladies of rank were admitted. Great virtue is ascribed to the indulgences granted these brotherships, and to the masses said for their deceased members. When they meet on the festival of their tutelar saint, they are entitled to a plenary indulgence. The gross bigotry which so long prevailed through

Austria,

Auſtria, was much owing to the 50 brotherſhips in Vienna. To give an idea of their abſurdities, I have inſerted a little brotherſhip book, *Beylage* xiii. 6, and an invitation to the feſtival of the brotherſhip of St Nepomuc, *ib.* xiii. 7, with 2 hymns, in which things are aſked of him, which a dead man cannot perform.

P. 86—100. Gaining indulgences is the great deſign of all theſe benedictions, pilgrimages, proceſſions and brotherſhips. Hope of thus eſcaping the puniſhment of ſin is a chief cauſe of immorality, as mechanical and pompous devotions are of lazineſs and poverty in Popiſh countries. Obtaining pardon of ſin by muttering forms of prayer, or purchaſing it with money, is a doctrine ſo ſhockingly abſurd, and the preaching of which was ſo great an occaſion of the reformation, that Popiſh divines would gladly perſuade us, that indulgences were only meant to abſolve from canonical puniſhment inflicted by the church. But even the doctrine thus mitigated, has no foundation in reaſon or ſcripture, though well calculated for ſtrengthening and enriching the hierarchy; and among the Popiſh laity, few know or regard this ſubtile diſtinction. Confident that every day they can procure new indulgences, which will redeem them from purgatory, and tranſport them to heaven, they are emboldened to every criminal gratification. He who is rich enough, may have pardon and heaven for his money, and, by dint of wealth, can transfer to another his vows and penances. If enjoined in confeſſion to pray a hundred roſaries, he may hire an old woman, who can do nothing elſe, to do it for him. At a comedy in Vienna, I was ſtruck with the appearance of a beautiful finely dreſſed lady, aged about 40. I was told, that two years ago, in a danger-

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ous ſickneſs, ſhe vowed to the mother of God, that if recovered, ſhe would wear all her life an woollen cowl. She recovered, and regularly pays an old woman for, in her room, wearing the cowl. Often in anguiſh, one vows a pilgrimage bare-footed to Mariazell, and afterwards hires an old man, who runs till his feet are wounded, and brings back an atteſtation, that the pilgrimage was accompliſhed. With this the devil muſt be ſatisfied, and can have no more claim againſt the poor ſoul. Theſe ridiculous ſubterfuges, corrupt every juſt idea of the moral conſequences of actions, and promote the moſt ſilly ſuperſtition. One who can pray for me, may alſo pray againſt me; and thus tales of witches and exorciſms are credited. As yet the Emperor has publiſhed no ordinance againſt indulgences, and ſurely the Archbiſhop will not. Every order of monks has procured from Rome variety of indulgences, by which they gain friends or gold. But the Jeſuits have the greateſt plenty of theſe commodities. See *Aurifodina celeſtis indulgentiorum a P. Ant. Natali, S. I. Tyrnaviæ* 1739, 12mo. I wiſh that piece reprinted, for acquainting Proteſtants what power of forgiving ſin is claimed by the Jeſuits. You will find, *Beylage* xiii. 9, the Jeſuits boaſting, that he who prays five *Pater Noſters* and five *Ave Marias*, and makes confeſſion in a church of their ſociety, can reſcue 23,000 ſouls from purgatory, or obtain an indulgence for ten thouſand years. Now, as ſeven years in purgatory are reckoned for one mortal ſin, he who confeſſes to a Jeſuit, may commit 1300 mortal ſins without fearing that puniſhment *. By their ſcandalous caſuiſtry, they only

* It is a common opinion, that one confeſſed is in no mortal ſin, and conſequently in the favour of God. A worthleſs immoral

only who seek a perfect indulgence, or security from all the punishments of purgatory, need renounce inclination to venial sins. Hence, he who yearly on a Thursday or Friday in Lent, confesses in a Jesuit church, and says five *Pater Nosters* and five *Ave Marias*, is secured from punishment, though he commit 1500 mortal sins in the year; and he who does this every Thursday or Friday in Lent, obtains, for each time, 10,000 years indulgence, so that he is safe, though he commit 10,000 mortal sins in the year, and may retain his inclination to venial sins, as he asks not a complete indulgence. Notwithstanding the reformation of the 18th century, even in Vienna where Popery is thought to be so much purified, the Jesuits teach children, that plenary indulgences can be obtained by certain confessions and prayers on the six Aloysi Sundays, and by certain devotions to the fleshly heart of Christ. See *Beylage* xiii. 10, the indulgences granted by Clemens XII, 16th June 1737, at the canonization of the Jesuit Jo. Fr. Regis.

P. 100—102. Auricular confession gives the vitious clergyman the wished-for opportunity of seduction, and the intriguing of discovering the most important state secrets. The joining to this the right of forgiving sins, is a most subtile artifice for supporting the hierarchy. Eybel's tract, *von der Ohrenbeichte, Wien*. 1784, endeavours to give Catholics juster ideas. Kauffer, a beneficed clergyman, closes an attempt to answer him, in which he had paid him many fine compliments, with saying, that all novelties in faith flow from the spirit of error; and that every thing else should be renounced, rather than what the law of Christ and state hereditary doctrine teach.

moral man, who has been consecrated a priest, by an empty ceremony, can absolve a fellow sinner.

P. 103—106. Friday's and Saturday's fasts are thought well observed, though, in the mean time, from two till half seven, a company feast on fish and other delicacies, and drink the finest wines. Yet at Mentz, a city of whose enlightening there are such boasts, and where indeed there are many excellent men, an ordinance appeared 1784, where it was said, that fasts appease an angry God, and shield men against the temptations of the devil. They to whom 40 days abstinence from flesh in Lent is troublesome, or who wish to read prohibited books, can easily procure a dispensation from the Pope's Nuncio. It is curious, that an Ambassador should determine what the subjects of the Prince to whom he is sent, may eat or read.

P. 107, 108. Preaching is a small part of the Popish worship. Masses and litanies they have every day; sermons only on Sabbaths and festivals. The low state of preaching at Vienna appears from the *Predigter kritiken* published there 1782, and continued, though with more indulgence, in Hoffman's useful work, *Uber Gottsdienst der Ostreichen staaten.* The sermons of Schneller and Maccioli, the two cathedral preachers of St Stephen's, and of Steilkelner in the church at court, resemble the harangues of mountebanks, not to speak of their contradictory doctrine, their bigotry, and their damning sentences.

P. 109—117. Bells ring, almost without interruption, from daybreak to midnight, in one or other church at Vienna, as signals for some public or private act of devotion. When the sacrament is carried through the streets to one sick, he who meets the procession, must fall on his knees, or, if he scruples it, speedily secure himself from bad treatment by going back, or retiring to a house. As churches stand open all the day, un-

der pretences of prayer, opportunity is taken for aſſignations. Multitudes of devotional books, full of abſurd ſuperſtition, are publiſhed at Vienna. Prayers on ſingle ſheets, conſecrated candles, incenſe, indulgence pennies, &c. are ſold at church doors. Many wear amulets on their necks, or in their pockets. Though ſeveral of theſe fooleries have been forbidden in ſome Popiſh countries, and lately (as I hear) at Vienna, prohibitions change not men's ſentiments; and to enlighten the underſtanding is more difficult than to prohibit. In conſequence of a revelation to St Bernard, ſome peculiarly worſhip a wound made in Chriſt's ſhoulder by bearing the croſs. The Franciſcans, on Advent Sunday 1783, removed from an altar in their church at Prague, a repreſentation of this wound, and ſubſtituted in its place a wonder-working image of the Virgin. This was a reformation truly worthy of the Seraphic order, exchanging one foolery for another. The change however pleaſed not the people; and though it was made in the evening, a multitude aſſembled and ſcolded the Franciſcans as robbers of churches. A people ſo warmly attached to ridiculous fopperies, ſeem not ripe for reformation.

P. 118—138. Such was the outward ſtate of Popery 1781, which, ſince that time, by different ordinances of the Emperor, has been conſiderably reformed. The praiſe he deſerves is the greater, when we conſider the prevailing ſuperſtition and narrow prejudices with which he had to contend. Still, however, the Catholic doctrine has remained untouched; and what the infallible church declares an article of faith, muſt be believed. The chief reformations are, (1.) A diminution of the Pope's primacy, and a beginning to adopt the idea,

dea, that bishops have their power from God, and are not subject to the Pope. By one ordinance, the bull in *cœna Domini* was abolished; and, by another, the power of granting dispensations taken from the Pope, and given to the bishops. Yet the Austrian normal catechisms still teach, that the Pope is God's vicegerent and visible head of the church. (2.) The toleration of Lutherans, the Reformed Greek church, and Jews; which however cannot be obtained without many troublesome formalities. (3.) Several monasteries are abolished. Those that remain are declared independent of any foreign ecclesiastical head, the general of their order at Rome not excepted. Monasteries are prohibited from teaching divinity, and young students from attending the German college at Rome. The begging monks are abolished. (4.) Italian and French priests, who maintained themselves by saying mass, are ordered to leave Vienna. Seminaries are erected in all the hereditary dominions, for educating young clergymen. In that at Vienna, 300 are educated on the best plan consistent with popery, by Routenstrauch, the excellent prelate of Brunau. The other seminaries proceed upon opposite principles. Though this education is highly preferable to the monastic, yet seminaries, where they only converse with those designed for the church, are as absurd as it would be to educate lawyers and physicians apart from all designed for other professions. (5.) Public worship has been restored to greater simplicity, chiefly through the influence of Baron Kresel, president of the ecclesiastical court commission. Fewer masses are celebrated; though, on ordinary days, there are 14 in every church. On Sabbaths and festivals, there are sermons in different churches, from 6 to 10 o'clock, and in the

the afternoons, catechetical inſtruction. That uſeful inſtitution cannot however be expected to be well conducted by ſuch men as Steinkelner. The litany of Loretto, and that of All-Saints, are ſtill ſung. The improvements of worſhip made at Vienna 1783, through the influence of many biſhops, are not generally introduced in the provinces. (6.) Brotherſhips are aboliſhed, and their funds appropriated to the poor: But I am aſtoniſhed to learn from Hoffman, that, October 1784, a roſary feſtival was celebrated in the Dominican church by a brotherhood. Government muſt think it neceſſary to connive at theſe dangerous aſſociations, otherwiſe they could ſurely prevent at leaſt ſuch public ſuperſtitious doings. (7.) Pilgrimages and proceſſions are diminiſhed. All the laſt are aboliſhed at Vienna, except Marcus and Corpus Chriſti proceſſions. It is to be regreted that government find it neceſſary to retain theſe, and thus cheriſh wrong ideas of religion, of which the clergy may afterwards avail themſelves for introducing more. Many pilgrimages to pretended miracle-working images yet continue. There is a great concourſe to the weeping image of Maria van Potſch in St Stephen's church, which the curates of that church, Feſt and Pochlin, will not uſe their influence for diminiſhing. (8.) Many groſs ſuperſtitions are aboliſhed. Much more would probably have been done, if the Auſtrians had been prepared for reformation. But religious prejudices, which have long remained, are not eaſily rooted out. The clergy, when they poſſeſs the affection and confidence of their people, may indeed do much; but they often do the reverſe of promoting reformation. Migazzi, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of Vienna, has openly and ſecretly obſtructed the Emperor's deſigns.

P. 139.

P. 139—150. *How long will the Catholic world patiently witness these follies?* I reply—So long as it remains the Catholic world; so long as the doctrine of an infallible church, without which there is no salvation, prevails. The doctrine of that church cannot change; and hierarchy, imagined of divine institution, whether papal, episcopal, or monastic, will remain; and, spite of the efforts of the judicious and honest, reformation will not be deep or durable. The clergy, while a hierarchy, will find means of baffling every attack on their imaginary rights. Political conjunctures may divert a prince from attending to their designs, or tempt him to court their friendship. A wise and active minister may die, and be succeeded by one of inferior talents or virtue. But the hierarchy never dies; is ever the same in her sentiments and spirit; watches, and, with unwearied subtilty, avails herself of every favourable opportunity. Through her secret influence, designs hostile to her interest advance slowly, and are often defeated; and perhaps, after a few years, things are restored to their old situation. What pitiful ideas must a people entertain, who consider as an enlightened Austrian, Caspar Karl of Olmutz, who published, 1783, two large volumes on the lives of the saints in the Emperor's dominions, with instructions for the adoration of relics! Baron Tauber, who is also thought much enlightened, in his treatise on the hierarchic power of the Catholic church, claims for them the infallibility and other powers which he denies to the Pope. Great indeed and laudable have been the efforts of the Emperor, and we rejoice in what he has been able to do: But no thorough reformation can be expected, while Popery remains. Hitherto, alterations have only respected discipline; while the

the doctrine of the church is viewed as infallible, and incapable of amendment. I have always reckoned Oberthur at Wurzburg a well informed Popish writer; yet, in his account of Ulrich, professor of law there, severe penances and mortifications, voluntarily endured, is one article of his praise. The would-be Popish reformers, suffer the grossest abuses to remain, and are satisfied with diminishing some lesser ones. The Pope's power is weakened, not destroyed. Money, though not so much as heretofore, is still sent to Rome. Bishops take an oath to the Pope, though in terms somewhat softened. Tradition and general councils are still appealed to, for deciding matters of faith; and transubstantiation, the adoration of saints and relics, auricular confession, priestly absolution, indulgences, and a mechanical repetition of absurd forms of prayer, are still deemed sacred. A multitude of books published at Vienna the last three years, of several of which there is an account in the last volumes of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, give abundant evidence of this.

P. 151—175. There are at Vienna four classes of Roman Catholics. (1.) They, who think they carry reformation farthest, adopt the principles of Febronius and the Gallican church, by which the yoke of the Papal hierarchy is lightened, but that of the Episcopal hierarchy made more heavy. In the books of French divines, which are read with avidity, and often translated into German, the absurdest superstitions are, in an excellent style, represented as venerable; and those not of the Popish communion, assigned to damnation. A new devotion has lately begun in France, encouraged by the Archbishop of Paris, where three unite thrice a day to adore the Three Divine Persons.

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The Pope, 15th May 1784, confirmed this devotion for all the world, and promised to those who performed it, great indulgences. Pochlin, curate of St Stephens, with the knowledge of the Cardinal Archbishop, endeavours to spread at Vienna that devotion, and those indulgences; See *Hoffman uber Gottesdienst, Wien.* 1784, 2 *theil. p.* 197. Febronius's principles have produced little change in the Emperor's hereditary dominions; and the old doctrine of the primacy still prevails. (2.) The Jansenists, though they avoid the hated name, as Jansenism has been condemned by the church, are a numerous and respectable party. Like the Protestant Pietists in the beginning of this century, weary of dry unfruitful speculations, they press practical christianity, and purifying the heart. Their doctrine of grace is no more absurd than the principles of the Jesuits, and their other opposers. If their ideas of penance and mortification are enthusiastic, those of other Catholics are equally so *. But, with these rigours, they connect endeavours after the religion of the heart. They imagine a perfection in the first ages of christianity, which, Semler has proved, did not exist. By their sermons, and in part by their example, they recommend the simplicity of manners, temperance and holiness, which they ascribe to the first Christians. Jesuits and bishops, who love luxury and power, pronounce this, dangerous enthusiasm. The Jansenists think with the Febronians as to the Pope; but they go farther than these last, and wish that bishops were more confined to their office as teachers and watchmen of the

* A Catholic lady chose to pray in Latin, rather than in her mother tongue, because she would have too much pleasure in repeating prayers she understood. *Tableau de Paris, t.* 6. *c.* 512, *p.* 203.

the church. To theſe two parties, the enlightening of Papiſts in Auſtria is confined. Was the indifference and levity of thoſe to prevail, who believe nothing of chriſtianity, though they outwardly conform to the eſtabliſhed religion, it would exclude all advancement in knowledge. Meantime, the greateſt part of the Catholics at Vienna, are what they call orthodox. Of theſe there are two parties. (3.) Theſe, who with the Dominicans, and many of the ſecular clergy, follow the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas. (4.) The Jeſuits, and their numerous followers. For more than a hundred years, they have directed the ſchools, univerſities, and education of youth, in Auſtria, and have governed the conſciences of rulers and families of diſtinction, by being their father confeſſors. Their doctrines and conduct are deteſtable, though, by their ſkill in diſſimulation, few, either Proteſtants or Papiſts know the true ſtate of their order *. Their blind obedience to their ſuperiors, their ſecret and open connexions from one end of the earth to the other, and the fine police and deep ſecrecy with which they preſerve and promote the intereſt of their order, render their inſtitution moſt pernicious. I wiſh I could awaken honeſt men, led in youth by blind enthuſiaſm to enter into that order, to prefer the general intereſts of mankind to thoſe of that ſociety. The Jeſuits are ſtill the moſt powerful party in Auſtria. All in office were educated by them, a few excepted, who were formerly Proteſtants. Moſt retain the blind reverence for them which they were early taught, or find it their in-

* See *Jeſuiten gift, wie es unter Clement XIII. entdeckt Philadelphia,* i. e. Wien. 1784.—*Idée generale des vices principales de l'inſtitute des Jeſuites,* Par. 1761, 12mo.—*Pragmatiſche geſchichte der Monche orden,* 9 & 10 band. Leips. 1782, 8vo.—and eſpecially *Hiſtoire generale de la Compagnie de Jeſus,* 4 tom. Amſt. 1761, 12mo.

tereſt to be well with them. The Cardinal Archbiſhop openly eſpouſes their party. They have either oppoſed, or perverted to their intereſt, the Emperor's ſalutary ordinances. They aſſume every form, and connect themſelves with every party, as their deſigns require. All the four parties maintain the infallibility of the church, though they diſpute where that infallibility lies, and what it has decreed. A Vienna writer, the author of *Verbeſſerungs Vorſchlage die Catholiſchen religion betreffend, Freyberg*, 1782, 8vo, who thinks himſelf well informed, and ſays many things againſt the Pope and monks, expreſsly maintains, that a general council, and nothing elſe, can help Germany, and reform the church. But Luther did more good with his tranſlation and expoſitions of the Bible, and his ſound reaſoning, than any council could have performed. Probably theſe parties might unite againſt the Proteſtants, if they did not think it better to reunite Proteſtants to their church. But, their now adopting a ſmall part of what we have long known and profeſſed, is a bad argument for preferring their religion to our own. By fair inquiry and debate, we have got 200 years before them in theological knowledge. Theſe advantages we will not renounce. The ſpirit of Popery formerly appeared in perſecution and violent polemical writings. As ideas of toleration ſpread among Proteſtants, and through them among Papiſts, the Catholic clergy have employed theſe ideas againſt Proteſtantiſm. They everywhere demand a fuller toleration than they are willing to grant, and, indeed, than their principles permit them to grant. Even Eybel, in the concluſion of his eſſay on auricular confeſſion, dreams of reuniting Proteſtants to the Catholic church, by a change of her penance. Others hope

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to gain Proteſtants to their communion, by toleration and brotherly love. The union of which they talk, muſt mean this, becauſe they believe their church infallible, and that, conſequently, her doctrines muſt remain unchanged. If they would not play with words, this muſt be their real deſire. It is remarkable, that when other brotherhoods were aboliſhed in Vienna 1782, a new one was erected, with the approbation of government, ſtyled, *Bruderschaſt achtdenkenden katholiken*, whoſe object was, by a tolerant, loving, and courteous conduct, to win Proteſtants to the true purified Catholic religion. The danger of ſuch things is the greater, becauſe Proteſtants loſe, and Papiſts retain, the ſpirit of their religion: and the laſt can allure by many political advantages, and have thus gained the favour of many Proteſtant princes. Watchmen had need to open their eyes, and be attentive, and not to ſleep and dream, till it become too late to guard againſt danger. This new brotherhood of pretended enlightened Catholics, have publiſhed a confeſſion, 1782, in which they maintain, that it is the duty of the Pope, as Peter's ſucceſſor, carefully to watch that no dangerous novelties ariſe in the church.

P. 176—186. I will now ſay a little of the ſtate of the Proteſtants in Auſtria, and particularly in Vienna. Soon after the Reformation commenced, many of the people received Luther's doctrines, though generally oppoſed by thoſe of high rank, and perſecuted by the Jeſuits; till Ferdinand II. obliged them either to renounce their religion, or to emigrate. Thouſands however retained their inclination to Proteſtantiſm, and, even in this century, ſuffered different perſecutions, which, ſome years ago, were very ſevere. The Emperor, 13th October 1781, permitted to the Lu-

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therans, the Reformed, and the Diſſident Greeks, the private exerciſe of their religion everywhere; and, when there were 100 families together, building a chapel at their own expence. Thouſands of Proteſtants ſoon appeared in every province. The clergy were alarmed; and government, by an edict, 31ſt January 1782, limited the former. It was ordained that a clergyman ſhould be preſent when any declared himſelf a diſſident, and endeavour to convert him to the Catholic faith. Prieſts were allowed to pay one viſit to diſſidents, and to offer them their chriſtian aſſiſtance. Petitions from churches or complex bodies of men, were not to be admitted as valid evidences, but every man or woman muſt be examined ſeparately by a clergyman as to their doubts, and ſign their declarations. If any declare themſelves of a ſect not comprehended in the toleration edict, they ſhall be told, that no ſect not mentioned in that edict can be tolerated, and that he, who does not declare himſelf of one of the tolerated religions, muſt be deemed a Catholic. By an edict, 30th April 1783, thoſe of Bohemia and the other provinces, who afterwards ſhould declare themſelves of the tolerated religions, muſt for ſix weeks be carefully inſtructed in monaſteries by prieſts, and, if then not convinced, left to their own choice. The limits of this toleration encroach on the rights of mankind; and the requiſite formalities give a pretext for farther encroachments. The examinations are often conducted in a manner unchriſtian and inhuman; and the ſtate of Proteſtants, from bad treatment, both by prieſts and the populace, is piteous *. Though, when theſe

* See proofs of this in *Schloſſer's Staatsanzeigen*, 7 *heft. p.* 318, & 20 *heft. p.* 414.—*Le Bret's Magazine*, 8 *band. p.* 393—442, & *Ephemerider der Menschheit*, 1784, 3 *ſt. p.* 380.

these complaints reach the throne, government is disposed to grant relief, yet at a distance this avails little. In the neighbourhood of Vienna, Protestants are in a better situation. They had eight churches in Austria, provided with preachers, in the end of 1783. There are above 14,000 Protestants in that province, though some of them as yet are not enrolled, and have little hope of being so; as, by an edict, 1st January 1784, no more professions of becoming Protestants would be received. In the first half of the last century, Protestants in Vienna, like those in the rest of Austria, were cruelly oppressed; but, from near the end of that century till now, much of the trade and industry of that city being in their hands, their situation has been more favourable. They were allowed to attend the Lutheran chapels of the Danish and Swedish, and the Calvinist chapel of the Dutch Ambassador. Since the Emperor's toleration edict, they are allowed public worship, but without bells. The Lutherans, 1782, published a well composed confession of faith, to confute misrepresentations of their sentiments; and, 1784, purchased a church which had belonged to the nuns of Clarisse, and adopted and reprinted Cramer's Holstein hymn-book. The Reformed purchased another part of the same nunnery, in which they erected a church, after their preacher Hilchenbach had collected considerable sums for them in Germany, Holland and England. The Lutheran church consists of about 2,500, and the Reformed, of above 500 persons. Among the last is the celebrated banker Count Friess, a native of Muhlhausen in Switzerland.

P. 218. In Bohemia, a few years ago, the nobility swore that they would admit no Protestant to their service. Count Bolza was obliged by go-

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vernment, 1780, to dismiss a Protestant secretary from Saxony.

P. 186—234. Both the good and bad consequences of riches appear at Vienna. They have long been remarkable for magnificence, luxury, effeminacy, fondness for pleasure and dissipation, carelessness and levity. Æneas Sylvius, in a letter, 1450; Shakespeare, about 150 years after, in his Measure for Measure; *Memoires sur la cour de Vienne, Cologne* 1705, 12mo; Lady Montague's letters, 10. and 21.; *Keysler's Reisen, 2 band. p.* 1214, paint their manners in no very favourable light. In making eating and drinking the great business of life, and in the debaucheries of both sexes, married and unmarried, not thought reproachful, matters are little mended. *Barclaii Satyricon*, in the uncastrated edition, *L. B.* 1674, *l.* 2. *p.* 266, describes the voluptuous court of Rudolph II. Though his successors were not voluptuous, bigotry, stiff ceremony, and magnificence without taste, have generally distinguished them. Joseph II. discovers a better taste, is no bigot, and often converses in an easy familiar manner with his subjects. Still, the sons of the chief nobility continue to be educated by monks. A son of Prince Lichtenstein's was sent, 1784, to study at Rome, in the monastery of the Sylvestrine Friars. The religious prejudices increased by this education; the power of the clergy, and prevailing effeminacy and idleness, gnaw the tender roots of reformation, and hinder it from flourishing, not to say, from bearing ripe fruit. With all this, the self-sufficiency of the inhabitants of Vienna is astonishing. They look on their city as the capital, not of the Emperor's hereditary dominions only, but of all Germany; and consider other states of Germany, when compared with them,

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as unpolished, uncultivated, and illiterate. They know and regard little, unless what passes within their own walls; and the thousand tracts published at Vienna, only respect the affairs of that city. The normal schools only teach words, mechanical devotional exercises, and a little very defective geography. Instead of being trained to habits of labour and thought, their love of eating and amusement is cherished. Dancing, music, dress, card-playing, are more attended to in the children of families of distinction, than the good qualities of the understanding and of the heart. Ordinary citizens generally eat six times a day, and have four dishes at dinner, and three at supper.

P. 235—252. Vienna has four times the amusements and diversions, every hour of the day, and every season of the year, which any other city of Germany has. In no place are there more idle people. Go, what hour you will, to a coffeehouse or to a pleasure garden, you will find them crowded with multitudes busy about nothing. It is amazing how many are constantly hurrying from one coffeehouse to another, from one walk to another, one tavern to another. The gardens and walks are most frequented, where eating and drinking can be procured. Balls, theatres, fireworks, and on the evenings of Sabbaths and festivals, the spectacle of tortured animals, are favourite entertainments. Parties of pleasure make jaunts to the country, especially on Sabbaths and festivals, where dancing, luxury and debauchery abound. In some of these walks are seats, where the gentlemen treat the ladies with ice-cream, stand behind them, and prattle many fine and tender things, in Summer, often till midnight. Winter is the season of court festivals, galas, ridottos and masquerades. The last are held thrice

a week, in ſplendid halls in the imperial palace, during the carnival; and, at the ſame time, many aſſembly halls are open in the ſuburbs, where people of all ranks dance and banquet, except on Sabbaths and feſtivals, when the entertainment is confined to muſic and feaſting. The ſpirit of gaming, and often for vaſt ſums, ſtill prevails, and proves the ruin of many families, though it is not ſo great as under the Emperor Francis. A hurry of noiſy amuſements, ſometimes laſting till midnight, and a daily ſeries of diſſipation, and of exchanging one ſpecies of idleneſs for another, muſt hinder all ſerious reflexion and application to buſineſs, and unfit for the noble and gentle pleaſures of the mind. From all this, though the neceſſaries of life are cheap in Vienna, there is no city in Germany, where living in the world, and ſeeing faſhionable company, is ſo expenſive.

P. 253—258. In Vienna, and through all Auſtria, thoſe of the loweſt ranks hate labour, and are fond of amuſement and diſſipation, whether of a worldly or of a ſpiritual caſt. Hen-pyes and fireworks, or pilgrimages and hen-pyes, are welcome. Paſſion for killing time, promotes a mechanical and ſuperſtitious devotion. A proceſſion amuſes the artificer and ſervant-maid, and frees them from the toil of labour. A pilgrimage is a jaunt of pleaſure. But, worldly amuſements alſo abound. From five or ſix in the afternoon, the gardens are daily filled with tradeſmen. If a few play at keils or tilts, the greater part prefer the eaſier and more ſubſtantial pleaſure of eating. Thoughtleſs of family concerns, they ſit there, as if eating was the happineſs of man, and the great end of his creation. In the ſuburbs, on Sabbath evenings, halls for dancing are much frequented by merchants and citizens.

P. 259—

P. 259—271. It may naturally be ſuppoſed, that idleneſs and high feeding increaſe debauchery. To prevent the laſt, the Empreſs Queen appointed a board of commiſſioners, whoſe ſpies not only followed ſuſpected perſons to retired walks, but broke into private houſes, opened ſcrutoirs, read letters. Often they were bribed not to ſearch or accuſe, and thus diſturb the peace of families. Though this police might occaſion great caution and ſecrecy in intrigues, the cauſes of debauchery remained; and the influence of theſe cauſes could not be prevented. The celibacy of the clergy, and even of many of the laity, and the remarkable beauty of the women, heightened the temptation. *Arnold Schwachheiten der Wienner*, 1 *Samm. p.* 49, ſays, that there are 10,000 common ſtrumpets at Vienna, and about 4,000 kept miſtreſſes, who often change hands. Hence, many young men get into a habit of throwing off modeſty, and talk in a bold indecent tone, even to ladies of the moſt reſpectable characters. Two millions are ſpent on bad women. Not a ſixth part of that ſum is employed in alms. How far a melancholy diſpoſition, or too warm a zeal, may have exaggerated this account, drawn up by a native, I cannot ſay. The conſequences of theſe debaucheries to health, morals and population, are evident. Patriot phyſicians might perhaps ſuggeſt ſome means of leſſening theſe evils: but men ſeem diſpoſed to wink at their ſpread; and no deep ſearch is made into thoſe circumſtances of ſociety which augment them. Hence, as a peſtilence walking in darkneſs, they deſtroy the proſperity of whole generations.

P. 272. The expence in dreſs is enormous. The wives and daughters of tradeſmen, nay, even chamber maids, appear in ſilk.

P. 274—

P. 274—280. Moſt live above their rank, and ſpend beyond their income. I was told of one, who lived œconomically, and ſeldom gave entertainments, whoſe family expences yearly amounted to 28,000 guilders, gaming, feaſts, balls and other occaſional expences not reckoned. Yet in other families of the ſame rank, expences were double or triple. It is hoped that the good example of the Emperor, the debt into which extravagance has plunged many families of diſtinction, and the aboliſhing or leſſening penſions, will produce a happy change. Even in families of middle rank, the expence in kitchen, ſervants, jewels, dreſs, &c. is great. Three or four livery ſervants, and one or two without livery, a coach and horſes for the maſter of the family, and another for his wife, are common: not to mention the expence in plate, china, carpets, &c. They paint, whoſe charms need it leaſt; and none can appear in fine company without dreſſing in the neweſt faſhion, and even changing dreſs, according to the ſeaſon of the year, and the places where he viſits.

P. 316—321. The gentleneſs and levity of the Auſtrians, make them open-hearted, courteous, and agreeable. Kind and ſocial, they love pleaſure themſelves, and love to impart it to others. Hoſpitality prevails, eſpecially at Vienna. If a ſtranger is recommended to a few families, a behaviour which merits it, will ſoon introduce him to more, and put it in his power to chooſe his company. Converſation is free and eaſy. In a city ſo much frequented, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the citizens ſhould pay attention to ſtrangers wholly unknown. If men, hurt at manners and a way of life different from that of their own country, openly blame and find fault, and make unfavourable,

unfavourable, perhaps unjuſt compariſons, people will be provoked and avoid them. To pronounce an unfavourable opinion of a place where you are a ſtranger, is ſeldom prudent; leaſt of all, at Vienna. That city is a world to itſelf, and entertains imperfect, and even unjuſt ideas of the reſt of Germany. This is the leſs ſurpriſing, as the inhabitants ſeldom viſit other provinces; and the beſt books which might have informed them, were, till lately, prohibited. They are immoderately conceited of the excellencies of their country; and the ſtranger, who in this point dares to differ from them, they cannot eaſily forgive. He gains their good graces, who praiſes what they praiſe. This I have done, where I could do it with truth. Where I could not, I have been ſilent, unleſs where wiſe and good men, with whom I was intimately acquainted, aſked my ſentiments. In that caſe I gave them freely; but I heard with attention what was objected to them, and have often in that way corrected my opinions. My ſtay at Vienna was every way agreeable, and I would have gladly prolonged it, had it been conſiſtent with my general plan. I gratefully acknowledge the courteous obliging manner in which I was received by perſons of all ranks; and highly value the opportunities I had of converſing with able, well informed and worthy men, and of contracting friendſhip with ſome of them. If I have pointed out what I think defective and wrong, it is from a love of truth, and a deſire to contribute what I can to their amendment. Some of theſe evils have taken root for centuries. It is a great ſtep, to diſcloſe their dangerous tendency. Remedying them ſhould be the next. As an impartial ſpectator, deſirous of the proſperity of my fellow men, I have done a little in diſcloſing evils, which

which naturally ſtrike a foreigner more than a native. For the laſt ſtep, the beſt monarch with which Auſtria was ever bleſſed, has done much in a ſhort time. It is the duty of his ſubjects to do, what by them only can be done. A more impartial, juſt and perfect knowledge of the ſtate of a country will be obtained, when natives and ſtrangers view it in different points of light; when men can bear with patience opinions oppoſite to their own, collect information even from injurious writings, and not eſteem that an inſult, which was an honeſt attempt to inform and amend.

Beytrage zum funften bande, p. 1—8. contains the litany of St Thecla, the firſt perſon converted to chriſtianity by Paul, who having forſaken Thamyris her bridegroom for the ſake of Chriſt, was by him accuſed of chriſtianity before the tyrant Maxentius, by whom ſhe was condemned to be burnt alive, but, by the ſign of the croſs, procured a great rain which extinguiſhed the flames. She was then caſt into a lion's den, where, after remaining 9 days, ſhe was miraculouſly delivered. Angels afterwards carried her to a mountain near Seleucia, where, for 90 years, ſhe faithfully ſerved God. She is addreſt as the ſureſt help in every circumſtance of diſtreſs and deſpair. Many other papers equally curious are inſerted, to ſome of which I have referred. But a tranſlation of moſt of them would convey ſtriking proofs, what idolatry and ſuperſtition prevail in Auſtria, notwithſtanding the late Emperor's laudable efforts for reformation.

From *Reiſe, van* NICOLAI. 6 *Band*. Berlin, 1785.

Vorrede, p. 6. To many Proteſtants, ſo great a part of the bigotry in Popiſh countries is unknown,

known, and what they know of it appears to them ſo contemptible, that they think nothing need be ſaid on the ſubject. They cannot believe, that things which they had imagined long out of date, are ſtill held in reverence. They indulge the pleaſant dream, that the improvements among Proteſtants for 50 years in philoſophy and the critical ſtudy of Scripture, have given a favourable turn to the ideas of Roman Catholics. They know not, or reflect not, that in nine-tenths of the Popiſh world, the errors and abuſes, which Luther attacked with ſo manly fortitude, ſtill prevail; that the Catholic clergy, believing that their own doctrine is infallible, and that there is no ſalvation out of their church, have no idea of the good they might learn from Proteſtants; and that conſidering us as heathens, they employ ſecret miſſions for again reducing us under the yoke of their hierarchy.

Book itſelf, p. 381—386. The trivial ſchools in Hungary, like thoſe in Auſtria, are directed by the normal ſchools. When the order of Jeſuits was aboliſhed, the late Empreſs Queen appropriated their revenues for higher ſtudies. The friends of the order hoped in this way to preſerve their wealth undivided, that on a proper opportunity it might be recovered. Thoſe to whom the management of the new plan of ſtudies was committed, had been educated under them, and were openly or ſecretly their friends. It was by Ex-Jeſuits, that a general plan for education was compoſed, and publiſhed 1777. That plan is fitter to promote ignorance and prejudice, than right knowledge, and diſcovers little acquaintance with the proper method of training up children. What is good in it, in ſome places through negligence, poſſibly in many from deſign, is not executed.

 Yet,

Yet, on the Emperor's extending toleration, Papists began to confine Protestants to that same plan, and to force them to use their wretched school books *. The Protestants, sensible that in this way prejudices would be early instilled into their children, which in a generation or two would banish their religion from Hungary, and shut the door against all improvements in knowledge, applied to the Emperor for redress, and it is to be hoped will succeed.

P. 387—400. Superstition and bigotry prevail in Hungary. Protestants have been cruelly persecuted there, both in the last and present century, to which the Jesuits have greatly contributed, who have obtained most of the churches and schools of which they were deprived ‡. The Emperor's toleration edicts are well known. The opposition they have met with, and the little benefit Protestants in Hungary have derived from them, is stated in an excellent little tract, entitled, *Schreiben eines Wieners uber das toleranzwesen in Ungarn*. 1783, 8vo. The Hungarian chancery at Vienna have permitted building 200 Protestant churches in Hungary, and with good reason. There were at least 500 places there, where there were more than a hundred Protestant families; and before 1750 they had been deprived of 150 churches. But I am assured, that in all Hungary 20 churches have not been yet built; and many apprehend,

* He who would know more of these contemptible school books, may consult Freymuthige's *beurtheilung der ostreichischen normal scholen*, Berlin 1782, 8vo.

‡ See Bahil's *traurige abildung der Protestantischen Gemeinen in Ungarn*. Bresl. 1747, 8vo.—and *Die Vorstellungen der Protestantischen Unterthanen in Ungarn an des K. K. Majestat van* 1773.—in Bahm's *Materialien, 2 liefrung*, p. 117.——and Walch's *Neueste Religion Geschichte, 1 theil*.—where a representation 1781 is inserted.

apprehend, that if government ſhould become leſs favourable, the debts contracted by building and enduing theſe, may give a pretext for ill-affected proprietors ſeizing them or ſhutting them up, as hindering the payment of their rents. Government require an account of the expences of theſe churches, leſt they ſhould diſable from fulfilling prior obligations; and thus difficulties are often raiſed, which ſtop their erection. As an article in the Heidelberg catechiſm condemns the maſs as a damnable idolatry, and many ſcruple expunging that paſſage from a ſymbolical book, it has been propoſed to ſubſtitute in place of it a catechiſm by Vernes at Geneva. An edict was publiſhed at Preſburg 1784, that no Papiſt ſhould enter an evangelical church, that no Proteſtant ſhould lend a Papiſt books for proſelyting him, and that none ſhould dare to ſay that he renounced Catholiciſm. There are no Socinians in Hungary, though there are in Tranſilvania.

P. 475. It is remarkable, that Upper Austria, where there is moſt induſtry, and fields and gardens are beſt cultivated, is the province where the Proteſtant religion firſt entered, and has longeſt maintained itſelf. On the toleration edict, it appeared that a ſecret attachment to Proteſtantiſm had remained for 160 years. In a ſhort time eight Proteſtant congregations were erected, and more would have been, if difficulties had not been thrown in their way by the clergy, and new declarations of Proteſtantiſm prohibited. Bigotry and idleneſs are generally companions.—P. 486. The Biſhop of Paſſau's lands at Stainberg, as moſtly belonging to the clergy, are imperfectly cultivated.

P. 498. In Bavaria a third part of the pea-

ſants cannot read, and hardly one village of thirty has a ſchoolmaſter.

P. 524. A chapel at Munich, termed the Beautiful, with more juſtice might be termed the Coſtly chapel. One box of relics there, is reckoned worth a million florins. They boaſt of three of the innocent children whom Herod murdered, and of an image of the Virgin Mary made in wax by St Luke.

P. 529, 530. The Jeſuits affect to fight under the banners of Michael againſt the dragon, that is, hereſy. There are ſecretly connected with and influenced by them, many ſpiritual and ſecular orders. In England, under Queen Elizabeth, they inſtituted the order of St Michael, which undoubtedly, in that critical period, had bloody deſigns. At Dreſden, Michaelmas 1774, I heard a Jeſuit preach in the court-chapel of a Popiſh prince, whoſe dominions are Proteſtant. His text was, *the zeal of thine houſe hath eaten me up.* We muſt, argued he, be filled with a holy revenge againſt thoſe who do injury to God, by not embracing the true religion. When Phineas ſlew the Midianites, he brought to God an acceptable offering. You conſecrate yourſelves, when you ſprinkle the enemies of Chriſt with blood.—What would be the fate of Proteſtants, ſhould theſe men again recover their power, which perhaps is no diſtant event? Jeſuits, who are hereby diſturbed in their deſigns, may exclaim againſt bringing theſe things to light, and repreſenting Popery as it really is. But the warnings which they aſcribe to an intolerant ſpirit, are neceſſary prudence, and care for ſelf-preſervation.

P. 552. Churches and monaſteries make up a third of the buildings in Munich.—P. 557. By the beſt accounts there ſeem to have been in Munich,

nich, 1781, thirty-seven thousand one hundred and eighty-two inhabitants.—P. 560. In that year 1156 were born, and 1319 died.—P. 561, 562. The number of births from 1780 to 1782, is 3905; and of marriages, in these three years, 911, which is four children for one marriage. But the consequences of this fruitfulness are much diminished, by more dying than are born. The deaths, 1776 to 1782, exceed the births by 868: A melancholy proof of the effects of debauchery. In Munich there are more bastards than in any part of Germany. Lawful children are to bastards in the proportion of four to one, or more exactly of twenty-five to six.

P. 563. Westenrieder, in his description of Munich, 1782, remarks, that of forty men, there is one clergyman, and of thirty-one, one beggar.

P. 578—583. In Bavaria more than a third part of the land is uncultivated. This must be ascribed to the baneful influence of the clergy, and of favourites, not to the rulers. Twenty years ago the thickest darkness covered Popish Germany, except that in Mentz, under Emerich Joseph, some of the grossest prejudices began to be dispelled. It was then that Maximilian Joseph, the last Elector, first raised a spirit of thinking in Bavaria. To him they were indebted for greater liberty of the press, erecting the academy of sciences, restraining early monastic vows, a begun reformation of the schools, &c. But without the good hearted Elector's knowing it, some of his favourites did much hurt. Many laws were too severe, the poor were oppressed, industry little encouraged, and capital punishments were so frequent at Munich 1774, that almost every week two or three malefactors were executed. Though the present Elector was believed by his subjects to possess the

ſincereſt deſire for promoting their welfare, it is the common complaint, that ſince his acceſſion, Jeſuits and begging friars ſucceſsfully exert themſelves for promoting ſuperſtition, and either baffling attempts of reformation, or turning well-meant plans to their own intereſt. In 1783, it was believed that an image of Mary in St Peter's kirk had turned its eyes. In the Royal chapel, the Ex-Jeſuit Gruber preaches bitter and abſurd ſermons againſt heretics; and the reformation of ſchools is ſought by committing them to Jeſuits.

P. 583, 584. Bavaria was in a flouriſhing ſtate in the 16th century, as the buildings and other works carried on in that period ſhow. But it is aſtoniſhing how much the country has been ſince impoveriſhed by the ambition of the clergy, eſpecially of the Jeſuits, and the falſe politics which they inſtilled into the rulers. The thirty years war, and the luxury afterwards copied from France and England, has had baneful effects on all the German princes. Almoſt all of them are in debt, and thereby diſabled from doing what they otherwiſe might for the preſerving their rights. Frederick William, King of Pruſſia, was the firſt who perceived the full extent of this evil, and vigorouſly exerted himſelf to extinguiſh it in his dominions, by œconomy, proper arrangement of ſtate affairs, and encouraging frugality and induſtry among his ſubjects. He perſevered many years in wiſely applying theſe ſimple and ſalutary means, though that age had ſo little idea of the great things he was doing, that they laughed at him. Now, all Europe would do well to follow his footſteps, though in few places do they know how to begin the attempt. In Bavaria the debt is ſaid to amount to 138 millions of florins, though the

the annual revenue does not exceed ſeven millions and a half.

P. 588. Count Preſſing, Vice-Preſident of the Elector's Council, an enlightened patriot, and zealous promoter of all that is good, was the firſt great man in Bavaria who ventured to ſend his two ſons to a proteſtant univerſity. The amiable youths gained the eſteem of their teachers, and by the knowledge they acquired at Leipzig, are likely to prove highly uſeful to their country.

P. 606—610. More of a philoſophic turn of thought, and of originality of genius, appears in ſeveral Bavarian publications, than in thoſe of any other German Popiſh country. Perhaps the chief merit of this belongs to the celebrated Ichſtadt. In early youth, his love to free inquiry was kindled in England, and cheriſhed by learning philoſophy under Wolffius at Marburg *. At Mentz he ſowed the ſeeds of knowledge, which ſprung up under Emerich Joſeph. When profeſſor at Wurzburg, he laid the foundation for the improvements which afterwards formed Schmidt and Weikard. Count Stadian, a man of great knowledge and merit, brought him to Bavaria, to be tutor to the Electoral Prince Maximilian Joſeph. He inſpired him with that tolerant ſpirit, freedom of thought, and love of learning, which, when he became Elector, were ſo conſpicuous. Forty years ago, he ſeized every opportunity of ſpreading the knowledge of the beſt Proteſtant books in Bavaria, perſuaded the Elector to diminiſh-

* I know it is become faſhionable to treat Wolffius's philoſophy with contempt. The imperfections and abuſes of his demonſtrative method I acknowledge. They cannot however vindicate ingratitude to the man who firſt introduced among us accuracy and preciſion in thinking and writing, and who formed many afterwards highly diſtinguiſhed by their compoſitions in philoſophy, theology, and juriſprudence.

nish restrictions on their importation, and put the writings of a Leibnitz, Wolff, Grotius, Puffendorff, &c. into the hands of the students at Ingolstadt. Hence, Bavaria derived great advantages, in which the neighbouring Austria, through the severe censure of books, till the reign of the present Emperor, and other Popish provinces, had no share.

P. 611—614. The academy at Munich was erected 1759, chiefly through the influence of the Privy Counsellor Osterwald, who was born a Protestant, had studied under Wolff, and was well acquainted with English books. History and philosophy were the first objects of their attention, to which *belles lettres* were afterwards added. The manuscripts they have published cast great light, not only on the history of Bavaria, but of Germany in general. The philosophical department has done much for rooting out prevailing absurdities, as to witchcraft, *exorcisms*, &c.

P. 619—625. The censure of books, so mild under the last Elector, by the influence of the clergy has, under the present Elector, again become more severe. The college of censors has been unable to preserve from confiscation books which they had approved. The education of youth is intrusted to monks, of which the Jesuits wish to deprive them. In whose hands it would be worst placed, is a difficult question. The last are the most artful and ambitious. From what I saw in one school at Munich, and heard of another, the instruction is as pitiful as in the Jesuit Austrian schools.

P. 669—696. The school-books composed since 1765 by Counsellor Braun, and his efforts for bettering instructions both in schools and churches, through the intrigues of the Jesuits

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and monks, have had little effect. The same cause obstructs the influence of Dufresne, one of the ablest members of the ecclesiastic council, and of other men of the greatest talents and worth; and has occasioned the hard treatment of Westenrieder by the Bishop's court at Freysingen, on account of his useful catechism, published 1774; the persecution of Zaupser by the Dominicans and Jesuits, on account of his ode on the Inquisition, which has raised general indignation in Germany; and the bad reception of Count Spreti, president of the college for censuring books, in his remonstrance on that occasion, 1780, to the present Elector.

P. 698—702. Though the theatre at Munich has not long subsisted, pieces have been composed for it superior to any Austrian plays; *e. g. Agnes Bernauerinn*, and *Otto van Wittelspach*. Offence at the free spirit of these plays, and especially the preventing the acting *Lodwig IV. der Baier*, in which the intolerant spirit of the clergy was well exposed, probably occasioned an edict 1781, prohibiting the acting of plays composed in Bavaria. Thus the encouragement of genius was sacrificed to a mean policy.

P. 710—726. Superstition prevails even more at Munich than Vienna, no abuses being abolished, unless the procession on Good-Friday, or diminished, except some of the follies in the procession on Corpus Christi day. The devotional books of their holy fraternities are as absurd as those of Vienna. Bavaria was the first Popish country in Germany where light arose. Twelve or thirteen years ago, under the former Elector, many patriots saw and exerted themselves for correcting errors and abuses in religion. The works of Osterwald and Zaupster, *Briefe aus den Novi-*

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tiat, *Briefe uber das Munchwesen*, *Faustin*, 1 *part*, (for part 2. is a mean performance by another author), *Briefe eines reisenden Franzosen*, all by natives of Bavaria, or men to whom it had become a second country, show of what the Bavarians are capable, if their talents had free scope. Even when the Pope visited them, fondness and respect did not appear in the same extravagant manner as at Vienna: but since that time, improvements have gone backwards. Though the Inquisition is not introduced in form, as Fast the Dominican advised, the treatment of Zaupster, and the prohibition of useful books, discover an inquisitorial spirit. November 1783, the Pope granted Peter's church at Munich, indulgences like those which are to be obtained in churches at Rome. A considerable sum was paid for this privilege, in confidence that fondness for these pitiful wares would bring still greater sums to that church and her clergy. A book was immediately published enumerating these indulgences, and directing how they might be obtained. A butcher's maid, and two other simpletons, imagined, 1783, that a painted mother of God in Peter's church moved her eyes; and a young gentleman, who would persuade the multitude that this was only an optical deception, was almost murdered. The clergy soon published a narrative, in which they extolled the finger of God, as thus appearing to confound those who opposed worshipping the Virgin. In January 1784, a dog having bit eighteen persons in the streets of Munich, Government ordered that they should be conducted to St Hubert, though a journey of more than a hundred miles, that by the miraculous power of the saint's body buried there, they might be preserved from madness. They were forbidden all medical help; and

a physician of the garrison, who had begun to cure a wounded soldier, was discharged from going on, as it would betray distrust in divine omnipotence. The wounded persons, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather, must travel that long road. Three of them died by the way, though whether of the consequences of madness, or of some other distemper, is not known. Indeed it is not known that the dog which bit them was mad, though it was shot, with 250 more which were quite harmless. Probably it was not mad, for the persons bit, before they had procured St Hubert's miraculous help, had strength and health enough for so long a journey. The ten who arrived at St Hubert's, after confessing, received the Lord's Supper, and for nine days were allowed no food save swine's flesh and holy water. Afterwards, the skin of the wound was a little opened, and a relic from the pedestal of the saint applied to it by way of cure. In April they returned to Munich, living witnesses of Hubert's miraculous powers. Were not these facts inserted in the public papers, and attested by persons of credit, it might be thought impossible, that at Munich, in 1784, such a series of absurd superstition could pass for a miracle. The capuchines, laughed at every where else, are highly valued in Bavaria, especially for the crosses and other preservatives against witchcraft, in which they trade. Bavaria having no Bishops, the Bishops of Saltzburg, Freisingen, Augsburg, &c. claim a spiritual jurisdiction over it, which, as they are sovereign princes, brings the electorate greatly under their influence. The Bishop of Freysingen's spiritual court threatened honest Westenrieder with excommunication, on account of a catechism composed by order of his Prince, and approved by

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the Bavarian cenſors of books. Thus the Elector, whoſe incomes are nearly equalled by thoſe of his clergy, has no power to reform his ſchools or churches, without the conſent of foreign Biſhops.

P. 727—751. The Jeſuits, though their order is ſeemingly aboliſhed, have loſt little in any Catholic country, and in Bavaria leaſt of all. They can now remain unknown, connect themſelves with the men of the world in ſecret ſocieties, ſurround thrones in feathered hats and badges of knighthood, and thus, unheeded, form a more dangerous ſtate within a ſtate, than even they did heretofore. See *Winkopp's Bibliothek fur denker, 2 band. 5 st.* p. 452. In Bavaria, ſo great is their influence, both at court and in the country, that what they will is done. Their policy looks forward to diſtant events; and their firſt founders preſcribed rules for their behaviour, if their ambitious deſigns ſhould occaſion their abolition. Balde, whom the Jeſuits honour in their ſchools as a modern Horace, was thoroughly acquainted with the myſteries of his order, and knew what he ſaid in his *Carmen ſæculare de Societate Jeſu*, 1640.

Profuit, quiſquis voluit nocere.
Cuncta ſubſident ſociis, ubique
Exules vivunt, et ubique cives!
Sternimus victi, ſuperamus imi,
Surgimus plures toties cadendo.

See *Jac. Balde S. J. Poemata, Coll. Ub.* 1660, 12mo, *P.* 1. p. 304.

This is their preſent policy. When they complain of oppreſſion and perſecution, and when their enemies triumph in their ruin, they play their game ſo well, that their gains more than compenſate their loſſes.

losses. Their brethren go on writing compends, flattering, threatening, alarming, intriguing, forming plans of union, establishing secret societies under different names. Their superiors allow the wise, the learned, the intriguing, the dull, the intolerant, to remain so, and, by their unseen influence, bend to one great end operations seemingly the most opposite. If any does what suits not the views of the order, he must cease, he must be silent, perhaps he must change his dwelling. Father Schwarz oversees all; and though nothing external distinguishes him from his brethren, he rules them uncontrouled. His orders they must all blindly obey. For a time it suited the views of the order, that Gruber should rage and thunder in St Michael's church in Munich. But when this occasioned much indignation, and he became contemptible, spite of all his efforts, he was removed to the country, and obliged to give over his roarings. At the same time, he got a good benefice, in reward of past services. Father Scherer and others conduct themselves with more delicacy and address, yet no better. Many think it a deadly stroke to the Jesuits, that their incomes in Bavaria have been transferred to the new Knights of Malta. It is the reverse. What they cannot retain, if scattered among many hands, would be more difficultly recovered, than if united in one sum. The appropriation of their funds to these knights, hurts them no more than the appropriation of them to any other order would have done, and thus they are kept undivided, till in a favourable season they may be recovered, or, which is almost as good, gradually procured for their friends, and men in orders connected with them. They admit novitiates; they assume the mask of secular priests, and cry out a-

gainst the monks; and, under this pretext, benefices everywhere are filled with Jesuits. Indeed, the secular clergy in Bavaria are in a wretched condition. Most of them want necessary knowledge; many have not a subsistence. The monks are ambitious and revengeful. The Jesuits, who resemble them in these qualities, excel them in cunning and intrigue, join the cry against them, and recommend the transferring their wealth to the secular priests, *i. e.* to themselves, who everywhere affect that name. Such transference of benefices hinders the progress of knowledge and reformation, their extensive policy and acquaintance with the world enabling them to do much more harm than the monks. Their smooth, insinuating, flattering manners may persuade sensible men, as the Ingolstadt Jesuits did the Altdorff professors who visited them, 1778, that they are greatly enlightened, and of a tolerant spirit. Were this indeed their disposition, the orders of their superiors would prevent their acting agreeably to it. Their order would rule all mankind; and mankind being ignorant and superstitious, favours their design. To them chiefly it is owing that darkness again begins to spread over Bavaria, and that absurd tales of witchcraft and miracles are credited. Patriots, who dare think for themselves, and oppose prejudices and abuses, are discouraged and slandered. Sensible writers, though far enough from infidelity, are branded with the name of Freethinkers. Men who themselves believe nothing, cry out against infidelity, and promote a mechanical sanctity and bitter intolerance. Zinsmeister, a canon at Spalt in the Upper Palatinate, published a book at Munich, 1781, *De cognitione veri*, where he maintains, that every Protestant shall be damned; and that if he suffer-

ed martyrdom for Christ, it would be the same thing as if he had suffered for the devil. Honest and able men in Bavaria, if they would not ruin themselves and their families, must be cautious. *Vestigia terrent.* The light and improvement which the fair dawn of knowledge promised some years ago, now seem far distant.

P. 751—777. Italy and Spain have been the common sources of culture both to Austrians and Bavarians. Both have the same religion and language, and resemble each other in ignorance of other German countries, defects in education, little inclination to industry, a strong turn to idleness and to mechanical devotion. But, in many respects, the contrast of their characters is great. The Bavarians possess greater strength both of body and of mind, and are more staid and sedate. In Munich, though a large city, there is little visiting, and running up and down. The Bavarians have been unjustly represented, as false, cruel, foolhardy. They are indeed rough and unpolished, but not cruel; bold and resolute, but not foolhardy. Falsehood may be the fault of individuals among them, but openness and sincerity is their national character. They are indeed superstitious, and the commonality lazy, and addicted to drunkenness. Prevailing superstition, and bad education, account for the ignorance of all ranks. A third part of the peasants can neither read nor write. Schools are few, and provided with mean and indifferent teachers. Learning is rare. The clergy find their account in promoting ignorance among the young nobility, that they may have them, when advanced to important offices, under their leading-strings. They even connive at their gaming, luxury and debauchery, provided they are bigots. Though a-

mong the clergy there are men of great talents, and of the best dispositions, yet in general they are so ignorant and intolerant, that without a new-moulding of that powerful order, no solid reformation can be expected. Roughness, and want of polished and courteous address, often conceal the good qualities of the Bavarians, and expose them to a harsher censure than they deserve. A nation more affable, though not possessing such strength of mind, is judged of more favourably. They assume not feigned appearances: they seem to be no more than what they really are. They pretend not qualities which they do not possess. Genius cannot be wanting, where so many men of distinguished talents have appeared, notwithstanding the discouragements of bigotry and clerical power. Despotism has not destroyed their free spirit; and the seeds of knowledge bid fairer to thrive among them, than among the more delicate and effeminate. But, alas! except for a short time, outward circumstances have not favoured their improvement. Thefts, street robberies and murders are frequent in Bavaria, though shockingly punished. This arises from the want of education and industry, and the consequences of this, poverty and want of principle. A weak-minded people would sink and starve under oppression. A Bavarian, when he finds no other means of support, procures what he thinks necessary by violence. Their subtile plans for breaking into houses, are often executed with such resolute courage, that this abominable perversion of the finest talents cannot be enough lamented. They seldom commit street robbery or murder till their spirits are embittered, and they are driven to despair. If Government introduced a better police, and encouraged activity, industry, and love

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of knowledge, many, now the bane, would become bleſſings to ſociety, by a proper direction of their abilities. Frequent executions hurt, rather than profit the people, who crowd to them as to an entertainment, and thereby become unfeeling. It is truly ſhocking, that on the oaths of condemned malefactors, men who proteſt their innocence, and of whoſe guilt there is no other evidence, are often executed as partners of their crimes. Executions are now ſomewhat diminiſhed. In 1781, about eighteen were executed in Munich; whereas, I am credibly informed, that in 1775, ſometimes two or three were executed weekly. The Bavarians are warm patriots; though, through the attachment of the middle and lower ranks to old cuſtoms, their patriotiſm is perverted. They fancy no country is happier, and that it is beſt for them to remain as they are. The women at Munich are more ſimple in their dreſs, and more domeſtic, than at Vienna. Haughty as the men look, they are ready to do every reaſonable good office to ſtrangers; only, you may be in danger of a beating, if you ſpeak contemptibly of their country, or queſtion the power of their images. The food of the middle and lower ranks is rather too plentiful and heavy; though they rather uſe more garden ſtuffs than the Auſtrians. Their heavy puddings and beer contribute not a little to their phlegmatic caſt. Though more lazy than the Auſtrians, they are leſs fond of amuſement, except national feſtivals and pilgrimages, which in all Popiſh countries are ſcenes of diſſipation. Notwithſtanding the rudeneſs and noiſe of meetings in taverns, often much ſoundneſs of underſtanding and ſtrength of thought, and a good deal of wit, humour and dry ſatire, appear. Idleneſs and ſtrong feeding

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occasion much illicit intercourse of the sexes, which bigotry does not hinder. In 1774, in consequence of public orders, the physicians gave in a list of 3000 persons at Munich, infected with the venereal disease.

From Reise, van NICOLAI. 7 *Band*. Berlin, 1786.

P. 4—18. The Castle of Nymphenburg, near Munich, was built 1663. The garden is the largest in Germany; and I was told, that riding round the walls of it would take two hours. There are in it four small pleasure-houses. Two of them deserve particular notice. Radburg was built by orders of the Elector Maximilian Emanuel, where the bathing places, sleeping chambers, &c. were evidently intended for the most dissolute purposes. Klause, another of them, placed amidst artificial ruins, is gloomy, unornamented, consecrated to devotion, and provided with a collection of Popish books for assisting it. I was shocked when told, that this was built by orders of the same Emperor, that he might use both by turns. Popery connives at the dissoluteness and injustice of the rich and powerful, if they atone for it by bigotry and superstition. It is well known, that Father le Chais made persecuting the Protestants a condition of absolving Lewis XIV. of France and his mistresses. Yet books were full of slavish panegyrics on such princes, and few dared to express just indignation at their unbridled profligacy.

P. 26, 27. Nigh Nymphenburg the land was somewhat cultivated. But, in a little, for two miles all was waste, miry and barren, nothing growing save a sour grass, too unwholesome for pasturing cattle. This was a sorrowful sight in so populous

populous a country, near pleasure-grounds which had cost so many millions, a twentieth part of which sums would have made them rich pasturage, and maintained many families. A proposal was made to the present Government, for bringing Mennonites from the Palatinate for cultivating this barren spot, which extends far in breadth. But the powerful father confessors, powerful because rulers needed their absolution, exclaimed against the proposal, and maintained, that the constitution of Bavaria admitted only Catholic inhabitants. Accordingly, Catholic thorns and briars and marshes were preferred to heretical corn fields and grass parks.

P. 44, 45. Many of the buildings in AUGSBURG, in the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, are monuments of the wealth and flourishing state of that city at that period. The thirty years war, raised to spread Popery and despotism over all Germany, ended these buildings, and, ever since, the prosperity of Augsburg has gradually sunk. In general, this has been the case with all Upper Germany, which suffered least in time of the war; whereas Lower Germany, which felt the hardships of it most severely, has gradually more and more flourished. The general quiet establishment of Protestantism there upon the peace, by the progress of pure religion and freedom of thought, slowly, but uninterruptedly, promoted industry. In Upper Germany, the bigotry and laziness of the Papists remained, and fraud and violence were used to oppress the Protestants. I appeal to large folios on the grievances of the evangelic body, of which a tenth part was never redressed. By crafty politics, many of the princes in these parts were induced to embrace, or become favourable to Popery. The securities they

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gave their subjects were often violated, and thus mutual jealousies and aversion arose, fatal to the industry of these countries. Such were the fruits of Jesuits insinuating themselves into the courts of Protestant German princes!

P. 64—67. The Government at Augsburg is aristocratic; yet there is a spirit of liberty unknown at Nurnberg, and merchants and tradesmen have considerable influence. The proper taxes are moderate, and do not exceed three-fourths *per cent*. of a citizen's income. The excise is also moderate; for even when it is raised on extraordinary occasions, the citizens do not complain. Though Augsburg has almost no territory, and the taxes and excise are so small, yet notwithstanding the magnificent public buildings, and the expences of the war about the Spanish succession, their debts are trifling. Ulm and Nurnberg, neighbouring cities, which have extensive and fruitful territories, and where citizens pay heavier taxes, are millions in debt. The right of citizenship in Augsburg may be purchased for twenty-five florins.

P. 86—88. By the peace of Osnaburg, Protestants and Papists in Augsburg were to have the same rights, and the number of each in every office of Government was to be equal. On the strict observance of this equality, the safety of the Protestants depends, and no fair professions of tolerant principles should make them deviate from it. Papists enjoy undiminished the privileges granted them in Protestant countries, and sometimes with success extend them beyond what was designed; whereas the clergy endeavour so to limit and restrain the toleration granted by Popish princes to Protestant subjects, that it shall have little effect. Father Schorenstein, a Dominican

nican at Berlin, having obtained liberty to perform Popiſh worſhip in ſeveral Proteſtant churches, endeavoured to frighten the miniſter of Greiſenberg to a ſimilar grant, by falſely threatening him with the King's diſpleaſure. On the other hand, the Epiſcopal vicariot at Breſlaw refuſed the Proteſtants the uſe of a Popiſh church till their own ſhould be rebuilt, or even allowance to perform the burial ſervice in it, when the weather was bad. *Schlosser's Staatsanzeigen* give many inſtances of the oppreſſion of Proteſtants in Teſchen, Carinthia, &c. notwithſtanding the Emperor's edicts.

P. 90—100. The moſt remarkable event amongſt the Proteſtants in Augſburg, for ſome time paſt, is a ſociety for promoting purity of doctrine and true piety, erected by Urlſperger, ſenior miniſter there, an honeſt man, but of moderate underſtanding and literature. This ſociety has ſpread in many cities of Germany. The concealing their inward conſtitution, directing ſuperiors, and many of their proceedings, give juſt alarm to diſcerning Proteſtants. Cunning men behind the curtain have employed Urlſperger as their tool. They have not defined what they underſtand by purity of doctrine. The extract of their correſpondence, publiſhed at Baſil, 1785, contains much abſurdity and fanaticiſm. Men uſe to meaſure purity of doctrine by the confeſſions of their reſpective churches. But Urlſperger ſays, this ſociety conſiſts of evangelical Chriſtians, without regard to the external form of their confeſſions; ſo that it would ſeem, Catholics may be members of it. Maſius of Leipzig's ſcheme for union of religions, and this ſociety, appear nearly of kin. The dangerous deſigns of ſome of the ſecret directors of this ſociety, appear from Dreykorn at Nurnberg, provincial director, having

having published an explication of the mass, 1786. He attempts to explain and confirm it according to the sentiments of the first church and the earliest fathers, to whom he ascribes an authority which no genuine Protestant can allow. He even approves the worship of saints, the adoration of the host, transubstantiation, &c. and finds all this pure and evangelical. He recommends the Ex-Jesuit *Sailer's Lese und Bet buch fur Catholicken*, a book, which, under the mask of devotion, contains dangerous designs against Protestantism. Possibly the central direction of the Jesuit's works, not only through Lavater's circular letters, but through this society.

P. 101—105. In Erfurt and other cities, where Protestants and Catholics are intermixed, they may be distinguished at the first look. But this is nowhere so striking as at Augsburg, where the Catholics are doubly or triply such. Since the Reformation, they have been entirely directed by Jesuits. Otto of Truchses, bishop of Augsburg, who invited the Jesuits 1549, erected the college and seminary at Dillingen, which soon fell under their management, and produced so many bitter controversial pieces against the Protestants in the last century. At present, some in that college put on great appearances of a meek and tolerant spirit; and Sailer, under pretence of writing a book of instruction for Papists, has so varnished over the doctrines of Popery, that unwary Protestants may consider them as not differing from their own in any thing very important. The influence of the Jesuits in this college, on Catholics in the neighbouring country, has been astonishing, especially at Augsburg, where they have got the direction of families of the greatest wealth and power. In their wretched schools at Augsburg,

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it is taught, that they who suffer themselves to be led blindfold by their superiors, as if they were a dead body, or old man's staff, are indeed under the guidance of providence *. In no imperial city are so many Jesuits of the short robe, *i. e.* men and women who have vowed obedience to the general and to the order, which they may do, though married or Protestants. The baneful influence of this secret connexion on the advancement of knowledge and reformation, and on the prevalence of Italian Popery at Augsburg, need not surprise. The wretched writings of the merchant Zabuesnig, of which I have given an account, *Beylage, p.* 26, are highly extolled by the Jesuits. The infallibility of the Pope has been harshly maintained; and Catholics who deny it, bitterly accused of heresy, in *Father Laur. Veith de primatu & infallibilitate Romani Pontificis, Aug. Vind.* 1781, 8vo, and in his *Richerii Systema confutatum*, 1783, 8vo. The writings of the 12th century contain no absurder tenets than the last of these books.

P. 105—113. These Italian ideas particularly appeared in the groveling marks of respect paid to the Pope by the Augsburg Catholics, when he visited that city 1782. *Politisches Journal*, 1782, 5 *St. p.* 459, speaks of him as a visible mediator between God and man. On this occasion, Protestants, while they behaved peaceably, and, when there was occasion, showed the Pope the respect due to a prince and to a man of learning, should have cautiously avoided the least seeming acknowledgement of his papal dignity. This was indeed the conduct of many, who felt what they owed to the thankful remembrance of the Reformation. But not a few of the populace, fond of spectacles, could not restrain themselves from marks of satisfaction

* See *Const. S. J. Part.* 6. *c.* 1.

faction at seeing a Pope, very unbecoming their religion; and even two learned Protestants made themselves contemptible on this occasion, by their mean and fulsome flatteries. The one, Count Zopf, intoxicated with the honour of a private audience of his holiness, in a history of his visit, left no trace of his Protestantism, and launched out into extravagant panegyrics, of which a sober-minded Catholic would have been ashamed. The other was Merkens, rector of the Protestant gymnasium, in an oration to the Pope, as keeper of the city library. On this occasion, he might have properly complimented the Pope on his learning, and signified that his difference of religion did not hinder his esteem for so learned a prince, and his valuing the opportunity of conversing with him, which his office gave him; nor would moderate Protestants have been offended, had he even expressed his wishes that a Pope of such personal merit might long be preserved to the Romish church. But, transported at his good fortune in this interview with so great a prince, he set no bounds to flattery and compliment. But who can excuse such expressions as these? "Thrice and "four times happy, that, kissing the Pope's sacred "feet, I can show him the library! Yet, who "would not tremble to address one, who as "far excels other men in worth and piety, as "man excels the lower orders of creatures; nay, "who to man represents the Deity?" He wishes "that Christ, who had given him the earth, "would long preserve him for the whole christian "community, and yet more increase his greatness." The whole of this speech is published in *Schlosser's Staatsanzeigen*, 1 *heft.* p. 105, and *Zapfen's geschichte*, p. 42. The Jesuit Bayrer says, in his short history of Augsburg, p. 365, that on Merken's

Merken's addreſs, the Pope ſaid, with a pleaſant ſmile, "Secret thankful emotions were a more "ſuitable reply to ſuch a ſpeech, than the moſt "pompous parade of words." But, notwithſtanding theſe thankful emotions, and the favour of this benevolent condeſcending Pope to the Proteſtants at Augſburg *, all he ſays of the matter, when, on his return, he gave an account of his journey in the conſiſtory of Cardinals, is— "From the Biſhop's palace, where Luther's abo"minable confeſſion was publicly read 1530, be"fore the Emperor and electors, I imported an "innumerable multitude of bleſſings to thoſe "united with me in the Catholic faith." See *Weimar Acta hiſt. eccl. noſtri temporis*, 63 *th. p.* 317. Thoſe who dream with Garve, that the Pope is favourable to Proteſtants, and willing to change what is in the leaſt offenſive to them, from this little circumſtance may learn their miſtake. Surely the Pope's reception at Augſburg gave no occaſion for this indecent attack.

P. 113—119. The controverſial ſermons of the Jeſuit Merz, and his predeceſſor Newmayr, are ſo full of fooliſh abſurd conceits, that they are deſpiſed by every rational Catholic. The preſent biſhop of Augſburg, who is alſo elector of Treves, has aboliſhed theſe ſermons. The Pope however, in 1782, wrote to Father Merz, encouraging him to go on with them, as what would be not only highly acceptable to him, but would procure the father a more plentiful reward in heaven; See *Buching's Wachentliche nachrichten*, 1782, 30 *ſt. p.* 305. In all the German cities, where Proteſtants and Papiſts were intermixed, the Popiſh clergy, after the religious peace, introduced controverſial

 ſermons,

* Of this, Zopf pompouſly declaims in *Bernouilli Samml.* 3. *theil. p.* 168.

ſermons, which, though they went not to the bottom of a ſubject, inſpired the vulgar with ideas of the ſuperior excellence of their religion, and hatred of the Proteſtants. Popiſh pulpits were thus filled with ſlander and calumny; and when complaints were made, they ſeldom obtained redreſs. But Proteſtants thus expoſing Popery, was deemed inſufferable. Goetze of Hamburg, in 1779, charged the prieſts with not praying in the name of Jeſus, becauſe, by making good works the foundation of juſtification, and joining ſaints with Jeſus as mediators and interceſſors, they taught confidence in one's own merits, or in thoſe of ſaints, and conſequently praying in his own name, or in theirs. Now, as he does not worſhip the true God, who joins falſe deities with him in worſhip; ſo he does not pray in the name of Chriſt, who prays in his own name, or in the name of ſaints. The Imperial bench ordered the magiſtrates of Hamburg to oblige him to recant, and threatened, if he repeated the offence, to remove him from his office; though not that court, but the Proteſtant ſtates, are entitled to juriſdiction in the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the evangelic body, and to remove paſtors. Goetze gave a kind of explication, otherwiſe the Proteſtant ſtates would undoubtedly have ſtood by him. Though I approve not controverſy in the pulpit, except on extraordinary occaſions, I cannot conceive what title a court, chiefly conſiſting of Papiſts, has, to prohibit Proteſtants, eſpecially under pain of deprivation, from preaching, when they think it neceſſary, againſt the errors of Popery. If it was againſt law to confute from the pulpit the principles of another ſect, the controverſial ſermons of Newmayr, Merz, and many more, againſt the Proteſtants, ought to have been forbidden with e-

qual ſeverity. In the empire, Proteſtants poſſeſs equal rights with Papiſts; and it muſt fare ill with us, if every violation of theſe is allowed to our enemies, and nothing left to us but to ſuffer.

P. 122—127. Thirty years ago, pedantry, and an unpoliſhed provincial or monkiſh dialect, prevailed in all the German Popiſh pulpits. By degrees, the Lutheran German, which the clergy had exclaimed againſt as heretical, made its way into Popiſh countries; and holy mother church deigned to adopt the purer, more elegant, and more grammatical language of the heretics. It was not to be expected that the ſpirit of good Proteſtant writers, which monks and Jeſuits would do their utmoſt to conjure, could make the ſame rapid progreſs. In this ſituation, relief was given to the clergy by many tranſlations, eſpecially at Augſburg, of Popiſh French ſermons, which has given a new and light turn to Popiſh ſermons in Germany. There are beauties in the French, which the genius of the German hardly admit being tranſplanted into it: But theſe tranſlators have not adopted beauties of which it was abundantly capable; writing in a ſtyle ſomewhat between Jeſuit Latin and old Popiſh German. Sailer, the Jeſuit at Dillingen, was the firſt who imitated, and often tranſcribed, good German Proteſtant ſermons. Hence, though his compoſition is not original, his ſtyle is pure. The ſermons of many are a medley of paſſages which they think beautiful, borrowed from one or more French writers, and joined to ſentiments and expreſſions of their own, in a moſt oppoſite taſte. Inſtead of the pleaſant and animated delivery of the French, their's is often dull and inſipid. The people at Augſburg hear, without underſtanding them, ſermons originally compoſed for men whoſe circumſtances,

manners, taste and improvements, were the reverse of their's.

P. 129. I was present at solemn mass at St Moritz church in Augsburg. I cannot conceive how the music, noise, and crowding backward and forward, could allow the least composed and serious devotion; unless the church, which claims so many miraculous gifts, has conferred a very extraordinary one on her children.

P. 130. The Bavarians give a salary of 600 florins to a religious agent at Augsburg, for collecting the printed tickets given to those of their nation in that city to attest their having confessed, and for transmitting them to the spiritual court at Bavaria, that neglectors of confession may be punished. The Bishop of Augsburg has also an agent for the same purpose; so attentive are the clergy to every thing which preserves their influence.

P. 136—141. In all the prints 1783, much was said of the reformation at Augsburg, when the whippings on Good Friday, and carrying about in procession many great figures, some of exquisite workmanship, representing the sufferings of Christ, were abolished. Yet still the carrying about, with great solemnity, a figure of the sacred sepulchre, was considered as acceptable service to God. The abolishing by edict ludicrous or cruel rites, neither enlightens mens minds, nor prevents private acts of self-torment or superstition, prescribed by a bigotted father confessor. The way to true reformation is shut up, when men imagine that, in correcting gross abuses, it is already attained; and Protestants are viewed as hardened heretics, who will not reunite themselves to a church now so thoroughly purified.

P. 142—

P. 142—157. The enlightened ſentiments and zeal for pure religion in the Elector of Treves's paſtoral letter, Augſburg 1780, has been too highly extolled by many ill informed Proteſtant news-writers in Lower Germany. The greateſt part of it is directed againſt the Proteſtants, though it employs no better arguments than thoſe of the Dillingen divines laſt century. He addreſſes them as beloved children, to hear the voice of their father; which is ſurely claiming a ſpiritual relation to, and authority over them, to which he has no title. He ſays, that ſince our revolt from the Catholics, we have no prieſthood, no church, no true religion; that from the decrees of the church there is no appeal; and that they who will not ſubmit to thoſe decrees are under a curſe. He aſſerts that our principles lead to blaſphemy, deſpair, Socinianiſm, deiſm, atheiſm! Yet the bench, which the preceding year had treated Goetze with ſuch ſeverity for denying that Papiſts pray in the name of Jeſus, took no notice of theſe harſh cenſures of Proteſtants, though appearing under the name of a prince of the Empire. Papiſts, on the leaſt occaſion, call in the ſecular arm. We muſt hear, without complaint, the greateſt ſlanders againſt our religion. The reuniting Proteſtants to the Romiſh church, is openly aimed at in this letter. Many events ſoon followed, which lead to the concluſion that others had the ſame view. The Jeſuit Stochenau at Augſburg's *Philoſophie der religion*, has in different ways been recommended among Proteſtants, though it repreſents their religion as wretched and inſufficient. Sailer of Dillingen's Catholic prayer-book, contains all the peculiar doctrines of Popery, though diſguiſed in ſmooth language. Lavater and Pfenniger, whoſe friendſhip the cunning Jeſuit gained,

not only recommended that book, but distributed it *gratis* among their fellow Protestants. I shall not repeat what I have said as to the Augsburg society for purity of doctrine, and Dreykorn, the Provincial director, explaining the mass as evangelical. These unexpected, and as yet unobserved signs of the times, merit attention.

From *Anhang zum siebenten bande, enthaltend eine untersuchun der bescholdigungen Herrn Prof. Garve Berlinische Manathschrift, Julius, p.* 19. & *Decr. p.* 488, & 519.

P. 5—12. I had reason to expect that a true delineation of the state of Popery in Austria and Bavaria would offend many. The Popish clergy cannot be pleased with what I have said of their sentiments and policy. Many Catholics varnish over the chief errors and defects of their church, extol a reformation which affects not the essence of Popery, and represent every thing as now changed to the better. The state of learning, religion, the hierarchy and monastic orders among the Catholics, is little known by Protestants. Hence, when they hear of the writings of enlightened Catholics, they are apt to ascribe to them a large portion of the light which shines among us. Jesuits insinuate themselves into their confidence, and paint Popery as now more pure and moderate. Hence it is hard to convince many, though the evidence is irrefragable, that the powers denied to the Pope are ascribed to Catholic bishops; that the absurd unscriptural doctrines opposed by Luther are still maintained; and that auricular confession, indulgences, pilgrimages, miracles, &c. fully prevail. Without the trouble of consulting the books and records to which I have

have appealed, ſuch a man as Garve, aſſerting in a deciſive tone that I have done injuſtice to Popery, and that fancy, paſſion or party ſpirit, have carried me too far, is credited without inquiry. Inconcluſive arguments *à priori* are thought enough to combat facts clearly verified. The beſt philoſophic genius, who has not minutely ſtudied books and men, muſt often decide wrong; and the abilities of Garve entitle him not to pronounce on modern church hiſtory.

P. 53, 54. Even in Auſtria, though the Sovereign wiſhes to reſtrain the power of the Pope, the Italian doctrines are taught in the ſchools. Wanner, Profeſſor of Eccleſiaſtic Law at Dillingen, (colleague of Sailer, whoſe writings have been ſo warmly recommended to Proteſtants), maintains, that Sovereigns do wrong in ſuſpending the efficacy of papal bulls on their conſent; nay, has made the new diſcovery 1781, that civil laws have no force without the church's conſent. Simpert Schwarz Huebers, a Benedictine of Saltzburg, in a manual publiſhed 1785 by order of the Archbiſhop, whoſe knowledge and tolerant principles are ſo much extolled, pronounces him, who does not believe what the church believes, in a damnable error.

P. 56—60. Mr Garve ſays, "If indeed the "power of the hierarchy was the ſource of all "the evils which oppreſs the Catholic world, ſtill "the change of the hierarchy from monarchical "to ariſtocratic is important." By this he means Febronius's ſyſtem, that every Biſhop is a Pope in his own dioceſe. But notwithſtanding changes of the canon law in Auſtria, the Pope is ſtill ſpiritual monarch of Catholic countries, and has no nobles to limit the exerciſe of his power. Even in Garve's own country Sileſia, though the Prince is

is Protestant, the power of the Popish Bishops is not independent of the Pope. Febronius's system would not introduce an aristocracy, as by it every Bishop would be independent in his own diocese. Father Jungs, a Jesuit of learning, and who would be thought moderate, in his printed dissertation, *Objecta Sacræ Potestatis*, 1784, asserts, that Bishops derive from Christ a right of determining doctrinal controversies, and on that account are secured from error. If this was allowed, the opposing the opinions of a Bishop would be criminal. Indeed, the changes in the hereditary dominions are chiefly political. The Emperor is more a sovereign, and hinders much money from going out of his dominions. Yet Bishops govern by the same principles as the Pope did, the source of spiritual evils remains, and no one doctrine is changed. Liberty of the press is granted; but bigots avail themselves of that grant, even more than men of liberal sentiments. Bishops and priests, among whom are many men of sense and integrity, have greater power to do good; but the greater part of them, instead of doing it, oppose the wise designs of the Emperor. What then would religion gain by such men becoming Popes in their own dioceses? Would Cardinal Migazzi, or his court divines Pachlin, Fast and Obermayr, lessen the evils of Popery? Indeed I need not urge this. The Pope's supremacy in the hereditary dominions is still acknowledged: still he confirms every Bishop; and, by the acknowledgment of the new Austrian reformers, must superintend purity of doctrine. When Migazzi, by the Emperor's orders, renounced the bishopric of Waitzen in Hungary, he surrendered it into the hands of the Pope, who, January 1786, accepted this renunciation.

P. 62—

P. 62—74. Nicolai proves, that the Jesuits, notwithstanding their abolition, still subsist; admit novitiates in many places; assembled at Palocz, and chose a new Vicar General; have obtained a firm establishment in Russia; in all Popish courts are, or seek to be, father confessors, and educators of young princes and noblemen; and even in Austria are chiefly advanced to Bishopricks and Prebendaries; are court favourites, and flourish in the Palatinate; and in Naples, the first Minister of State, the Marquis of Sambuca, owed his promotion to their interest; and the Marquis of Carraccioli, who succeeded him 1786, found it necessary to court their favour.

P. 76—100. It is no chimera, that dangerous designs are carrying on for perverting Protestants. A Berlin monthly paper observes, that zealous members of certain secret Protestant societies, begin openly to extol the excellency of Popery. This, if true, ought to excite every honest Protestant's attention and displeasure. The Jesuit Steiner asks, *Schles Provincial Blatter, 9 st.* p. 237, Is this conduct, evil, unjust, or unfriendly to the advancement of knowledge? Father Oberhauser in Saltzburg, a friend of the Febronian system, in his *Prælectiones Canonicæ*, published 1785, *l.* 1. p. 308, exhorts Bishops by missions to bring back Protestants to the bosom of the church: and *l.* 1. p. 371, & *l.* 5. p. 40, vindicates inflicting civil punishments on heretics. Sprenger at Banz, one of the most learned and moderate Popish divines, in his *Literatur des Cath. Deutschlandes, v.* 3, p. 457, blames me as intolerant, for warning against the seminaries for secretly introducing Popery into Sweden and Denmark. Even the historian Schmidt expresly pronounces the reformation useless, and maintains that genuine reformation

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can only arise from the church. Mr. Garve maintains, that genuine Popery cannot recover her lost ground. Were it so, what are we the better, if the pretended reformed Febronian Popery come in its place; or the Popery, dressed in less offensive and more soft and gentle language by artful Jesuits, which thoughtless Protestants have recommended? I will mention a remarkable fact. For some years, by the increased influence of the Jesuits in Bavaria, under the present Elector, those who would promote knowledge, reformation and moderate sentiments, if they will not go over to the Jesuits, or at least be silent, are slandered, deprived of their offices, and even sometimes banished. Yet one Jesuit, Jo. Mich. Sailer, first at Ingolstadt, then at Dillingen, has begun for some years to write with great moderation; and in a book of prayers and instructions for Catholic christians, expresses the peculiarities of his church in so disguised a manner, that, without attention, they cannot be observed. Even the words Pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, indulgence, &c. are not used, though the careful reader will find the doctrines generally expressed by them. Yet none in Bavaria or Augsburg has accused him of deviating from the form of sound words, though his colleagues are noted bigots. Nay, he remains an ecclesiastic counsellor to the Elector. Surely his treatment would have been different, if he had not been considered as spreading a net for unwary Protestants. We cannot suppose a Jesuit would take so peculiar a step, without the approbation of his superiors. Their conduct in Austria, Hungary and Bavaria, for ten years past, indicates no love to knowledge, reformation, and tolerant principles; though, for the honour of their order, they affect the merit of promoting what they

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ſee is about to prevail. Thirty years ago, they endeavoured to hinder Popiſh countries from importing Proteſtant books remarkable for taſte and eloquence. When they were ſenſible that could no longer be done, they encouraged young Jeſuits to read and form their ſtyle on the fineſt of theſe writers. Hence Jeſuits were the firſt poets and orators among the German Catholics. Thus recommended, and talking of moderation, they found acceſs to the men of the world, which the more learned Benedictines could not, becauſe leſs acquainted with fine writing. But in Sailer's book, their views ſeem to have been deeper and more extenſive. Clothing the doctrines of Popery in their uſual dreſs, could not have offended Roman Catholics. That work was therefore undoubtedly intended for making Popiſh tenets more palatable to Proteſtants, and was a link in the ſcheme of proſelytiſm, which Jeſuits for ſome time had zealouſly proſecuted. My buſineſs as a bookſeller led me to obſerve, that while other Popiſh books reached Proteſtant countries ſeldom and late, this ſoon made its way to them, and was more purchaſed and read by thoſe of our religion, than by thoſe for whom it was profeſſedly deſigned, nay, that 10 or 20 copies of it have been purchaſed at once by ſome Proteſtants. For ſome years circular letters have been written from Lavater's houſe to his particular friends, report ſays, by Pfenninger under his direction, giving information of every thing in which he is concerned. From theſe it appears that Sailer has found means to gain his friendſhip, and become intimately connected with him. Not only do theſe letters recommend the book to Proteſtants as highly uſeful, but mention that it is diſtributed gratis, and much uſed at Zurich as a book of devotion.

votion. Sailer's superiors, who would have disliked it if intended for those of their own communion, can only relish it as meant to deceive Protestants. Protestants therefore betray their own cause, and the cause of sound reason, who recommend what evidently leads to reconcile men to Popery. Where is the man in Popish countries, who has half the influence in them, which Lavater has among Protestants, who would have recommended to those of his own religion, Sailer's book? The Catholic fraternity at Vienna, profess the design of recovering Protestants by brotherly love to the true Catholic faith. Garve asserts, that the Papists in Silesia wonder as much as he does at the reports of secret plans for spreading their religon. But facts which our author mentions, *Beylage*, p. 171—178, prove the zeal of the King of Prussia's Popish subjects in Silesia for gaining proselytes. The priests persuade Papists who marry Protestants, that it would be a deadly sin to have the ceremony performed by a Protestant clergyman. Every endeavour is afterwards used to gain over the Protestant to Popery: or, if that does not succeed, by the mother and her priests to pervert the children, though often with such secrecy, that till the death of the father it remains concealed. The mother pleads, that if she opposed their embracing her religion, her friends would desert her, and her children starve. In Leobschutz, a city in the Prussian part of the principality of Jagensdorff, the number of Protestants has greatly decreased, partly by their becoming Papists, partly by want of employment and other discouragements on account of their religion, forcing them to emigrate. A Protestant tradesman or merchant seldom thrives, unless he marry a Papist; and if the next step is not be-

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coming favourable to his wife's religion, his customers withdraw from him, he falls into straitened circumstances, contracts debt, perhaps is told by those who pretend to pity him, that God is punishing him for his heresy. At length, that he may gain their support, if he does not renounce his religion, he at least connives at his children being perverted.

P. 106—111. Mr Garve argues from the manners of the times, the improbability of Popery gaining ground. "Most are indifferent to general truths and invisible objects, and in little danger of superstition or enthusiasm, for they think on nothing, which does not either gratify their senses, or procure wealth and honour. Those who attend more to religion, generally retain the principles in which they were early instructed. The few who have inclination and ability for free inquiry, are in little danger of being misled by sophistry or a heated imagination." If the bulk of mankind are as Garve describes them, false ideas may easily be insinuated into weak minds unaccustomed to strict reasoning, especially if by adopting them they may advance some worldly interest, gratify their passion for the marvellous, gain the favour of a prince, or do what a Lavater recommends. The schemes of the great may interfere with the advancement of knowledge and reformation. I have had better opportunity to know the general state of the learned world than Mr Garve, who forms his judgment on the good books he has read: and with me it is past doubt, that the party of folly is more powerful and numerous than that of reason. Garve cannot be ignorant, how much superstition, fanaticism, Lavaterianism, Moravianism, seeing of spirits, &c. prevail in Silesia.

Swedenburg's books, and *Des Erreurs et de la Verité*, are more read than any thing written by Mr Garve. Popery may bid fair for succeſs, when the underſtanding is ſo dark as to regard ſuch abſurdities. As Zimmermann expreſſes it, "Enthuſiaſm acts, reaſon only talks." A few years ago, how many were deceived by Gaſner's impoſtures! How many crowded to Vienna for the Pope's bleſſing! What attention has been paid at Vienna, Paris, &c. to Meisner's pretended magnetic cures! A man in Berlin, otherwiſe ſenſible, maintains the influence of the ſtars, and the appearances of ſpirits. Secret ſocieties, and dark expectations of the diſcoveries and advantages they will procure, every where increaſe. Maſius at Leipzig, has formed a ſociety for the reunion of chriſtians, whoſe members are ſworn not to reveal one another's names. For the ſame purpoſe, Schulz at Gieſſen propoſes a council of ſuch men as the Jeſuits at Mentz. Sailer's inſtructions for Catholics are diſtributed gratis among Proteſtants. A Proteſtant preacher recommends the Popiſh maſs. What muſt it come to, when ſuch men as the philoſophic Garve, charge with folly a ſerious inquiry into theſe ſecret machinations!

P. 123. Luther's reformation attacked the eſſence of Popery: the Emperor's only ſome of its groſſer abuſes. Luther appealed to the people, and found them prepared: the Emperor's reformation edicts are agreeable only to a diſcerning few, and their efficacy hindered by the policy of the clergy, and the prejudices of the people.

P. 133—135. Shall we put our hands in our boſoms, when Papiſts attack our religion by arguments a hundred times confuted; or artfully endeavour to inſinuate themſelves, and gain influence

ence in Proteſtant countries? Father Schotenſtein travelled up and down in the Marquiſate of Brandenburg, obtained from ſeveral clergymen the uſe of their churches, and was impudent enough to threaten one with the King's diſpleaſure if he would not grant it. Such compliments Catholics are not diſpoſed to repay. When the Proteſtant church at Thomaswaldau in Sileſia was burnt, they would not allow the uſe of theirs till it ſhould be rebuilt: and in the Catholic church at Racon, Proteſtants could not obtain liberty to perform the burial ſervice, even in bad weather. Yet they call it intolerance, when we expoſe their ſecret machinations, and refute their falſe doctrines.

Nicolai ſets his own conduct, and that of his cenſurers in a ſtriking point of light, by the following apologue in the concluſion of his *Unterſuchung*.

P. 138—144. Two ſtates, the one great and powerful, the other in theſe reſpects inferior, carried on a long, bitter, and bloody war. At length bold efforts and fortunate events, procured the weaker ſtate a part of her juſt claims. In their borders both ſtates had fortreſſes lying near one another. That of the wealthier ſtate was plentifully provided with all the inſtruments of war, and with a numerous garriſon. The other was ſmall, and the troops defending it few; yet ſo well ſecured by nature and art, that only treachery, or an unexpected attack, could maſter it. Years paſſed in peace; and the commander of the larger fortreſs lived on a friendly footing with the general of the ſmaller one, which on that ſide opened the entrance to their country. In the mean time, the commander of the ſmaller fortreſs is informed, that his neighbour was meditating

a ſudden attack upon him. Though ſurpriſed at the report, he was unwilling to credit it, eſpecially as a philoſopher high in his eſteem endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the neighbouring country had laid aſide her old animoſity, and was become too friendly to conceive ſuch a deſign; and that ſuch unjuſt ſuſpicions of a worthy commander, would greatly grieve him, if not provoke his hatred. The philoſopher was a man of great ſagacity, but had never travelled beyond the boundaries of the two ſtates, and ſpent moſt of his time in his ſtudy, though part of it at the table of the general, where often he propoſed ingenious conjectures, ſupported by ſpecious reaſonings as to the preſent policy of that unſeen country. Their fortuned to be a common ſoldier, who, by travelling far and wide in that unfriendly region, had learned much as to the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the inhabitants. He told the philoſopher, that the court of that ſtate, inſtead of renouncing, had from time to time renewed her pretenſions to their country, and, when ſhe could, would certainly ſupport them by violence. The philoſopher ſhrugged his ſhoulders, and ſaid, "It "was not uſual for princes to renounce claims. "Renewing them was only court ſtyle, the inferring from which the aſſault of a fortreſs "was abſurd ſophiſtry." The ſoldier took notice, that many who had belonged to a regiment, formidable by their cunning and their ſucceſsful ſtratagems in the late war, had for ſome time been often going out and in to their fortreſs, and that ſome of them had even obtained offices there, which enabled them to ſpy where its ſtrength and weakneſs lay, perhaps to procure the keys of the gates, and let in the enemy. The philoſopher laughed heartily, and ſaid, "There was no evi-

"dence

" dence that these men had sought offices in the " fortress with a design to hurt it. It would be " a miracle, if the soldiers of a disbanded regi- " ment, who had no leader, and had lost their " former spirit, could do any considerable mis- " chief. These soldiers were no more what once " they were; and it was not conceivable how " their old leaders could now order, and they " obey." Being told that there was an epistolary correspondence between several of the garrison and the neighbouring country, generally in so peculiar a strain, that there was ground to suspect some seeming unmeaning expressions were cyphers, for mutually imparting important and treasonable intelligence: the philosopher replied, " There was no treason in sending letters by " post: and correspondence on other matters " was not the way to surprise or storm a fortress. " Many of these letters he understood, and what " he understood was not important enough to oc- " casion a moment's uneasiness." Being further informed, that by persons whose business was not known, quantities of arms, powder and lead were brought to different parts of the city: he logically proved, that " arms, powder, and lead, with- " out men to direct their operation, could not " master a fortress; that without cartridges, of " which none had been found, fire arms could " not be discharged with speed and efficacy; and " that therefore it was more candid to suppose, " that the arms and ammunition were intended " for shooting sparrows, or for celebrating the " general's birth-day." Lastly, it was urged that often at twilight troops appeared at no great distance from the fortress, and that many circumstances concurred to render it suspicious, that these approaches at so late an hour were from in-

tentions not friendly: the philoſopher anſwered, that " he had been ſleeping, and had not ſeen " theſe appearances; was perſuaded that the twi- " light had occaſioned the miſtaking ſhadows for " men; though, if men were obſerved walking " at twilight in a public road, it was intolerant " to ſuſpect bad deſigns, as the general of the " neighbouring fortreſs and his officers were all " friendly." The traveller then turned to the general, and ſaid, the philoſopher argues well: but his arguments can have no weight with me, in oppoſition to facts which I perfectly know. All I aſk is, that attention be paid to ſtrangers, who viſit the fortreſs without a viſible cauſe; that a ſufficient watch be conſtantly kept up; and that ſo long as it is dark, parties be employed to patrol for half a mile round the fortreſs. This was accordingly done, and many things were diſcovered, which, though they could not be connected together, threatened danger in certain circumſtances to the fortreſs. Numbers of men were found. Some pretended to be ſleeping behind buſhes. Others, who wandered up and down, could give no ſatisfying account of their views. With ſome of them were found draughts of parts of the fortreſs, and letters of a very ſingular nature. Sometimes armed bodies of men appeared; but, ſo ſoon as they were obſerved, retired, without attempting any thing hoſtile. The commander called a council of his officers, and they all agreed, that without determining what was or was not poſſible, the ſafeſt courſe was, to double their attention to every ſuſpicious circumſtance, whether within the garriſon, or without. In conſequence of this attention, new grounds of jealouſy appeared, and it was found neceſſary to improve and careſully to watch the fortification, and by

proper

proper exercises to prepare the garrison for defence. From these measures, enemies conceived such ideas of their prudence and caution, that in a short time the suspicious approaches and correspondences gradually ceased.

Beylage B. p. 148—162. contains an extract from a letter, 17th October 1785, confirming Nicolai's sentiments as to the danger of Popery. The writer was led to attend more minutely to many events, by Nicolai's account of the seminaries at Linz and at Schwerin in Meclenburg. From a book by one who 180 years ago left the order of the Jesuits, it appears that, for succeeding in their schemes, they often put on a common dress, and pretend to be Lutherans or Calvinists. See *Cambilian de abstrusioribus Jesuitorum studiis*, 1608, 8*vo*, *p.* 2. Father Ægidius De Chesne, a Jesuit at Schwerin, went to Stralsund on a pretended invitation, and prevailed on the Swedish government to allow a Catholic chapel to be erected there, 1775. In 1782, Popery so spread, that Father Efferz, another Jesuit, travelled through all Sweden, and publicly celebrated the Popish worship in many cities, and sometimes even in Protestant churches; See *De Chene's Reise beschreibung*, 2 *band. p.* 498. This could not have happened by chance. Men, not known to be Papists, or at least to be Jesuits, must, by journeys and letters, have discovered the time for so suddenly gaining Popery a footing in Swedish Pomerania, and even in Sweden itself. Protestants had need watch over whatever wears a suspicious aspect. Foreign Popish bishops not only assume authority over Popish subjects in Protestant countries, but even the power of appointing or removing their clergy. Thus, the Bishop of Cadiz appointed the Popish clergy at Gibraltar, even after it was formally

given

given to Britain. When General Boyd commanded that garrison, the Popish vicar having preached a little freely on some subjects, the Bishop removed him, and appointed another. As General Boyd refused to deliver him up to the Inquisition, the matter seemed forgotten; till, at the desire of an old friend, he ventured to pay a visit, when the commissioners of the Inquisition carried him off. General Boyd would not accept the successor named him by the Bishop of Cadiz, but, 1769, appointed a Minorca clergyman, vicar, and discharged the Gibraltar Catholics to have any farther connexion with the Bishop of Cadiz. This was undoubtedly prudent. One Spanish subject appointed vicar by another, might have carried on correspondence very dangerous to Britain; See *Hannoversch. Magazin*, 33 *St.* 25*th April* 1785. When the new Electorate was erected, 1708, one condition was, the allowing a Popish chapel at Hanover. Government not having troubled themselves with supplying it, a priest was appointed, and received his salary from the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome. As some Catholics came to study at Gottingen in 1747, the allowing Popish worship there was requested. Government, suspecting nothing, agreed, provided the worship should be private, and the priest matriculated with the other students, and subjected to the jurisdiction of the university. The Bishop of Hildesheim appoints him, probably as bishop over the northern mission; and his salary is paid by the society *de propaganda*. Some time ago, the Popish clergyman fixed at his window a papal bull, probably that if this step was allowed, it might have been followed by other more important usurpations of power. But the rector of the university, justly alarmed, caused the bull to be torn off, and the

the prieſt cited before the academic ſenate. After the citation being ſeveral times repeated in vain, he was warned, that if he did not appear, he would be brought by force. He came accordingly to the lobby of the academic ſenate, dreſſed in all his prieſtly ornaments, and ſignified that the Popiſh prieſt had come at their deſire. Probably his deſign was, that the affair might make a noiſe, and be conſidered as the cauſe of religion among the Popiſh ſtudents, ſeveral of whom were men of rank; but eſpecially, that, by appearing before a magiſtrate in his robes, there might be a precedent for the public exerciſe of his office. The rector ſaw the ſnare; and that the clergyman, if allowed to appear in this garb, would plead his pretended immunity from ſecular juriſdiction: and therefore ſent a meſſage, that he knew nothing of him as a prieſt, but only as a learned man, who was matriculated, and under the juriſdiction of the univerſity; that therefore, he muſt lay aſide his prieſtly garments, and appear in common dreſs, otherwiſe ſeverer meaſures would be taken. This he accordingly did, and at firſt endeavoured to vindicate his fixing the papal bull to his window, as a branch of allowed religious freedom. But he was told, that a public act, which only belonged to the magiſtrate, was no part of private worſhip; and then was diſmiſſed with a deſerved reproof, and warned not to repeat ſuch an offence. Above a year ago, application was made to the court of Brunſwic, for erecting a profeſſorſhip of canon law, for the ſake of the Popiſh ſtudents at Helmſtadt. To this motion, which was thought to have originated from the Biſhop of Hildeſheim, the Duke of Brunſwic conſented. How far the nomination of Schnaubert, who had renounced their religion, is agreeable to Catholics,

time

time muſt ſhow. Poſſibly the intention was, the forming a precedent for introducing ſuch profeſſorſhips in larger Proteſtant univerſities. However that be, when the government at Hanover allowed the building a Popiſh church at Gottingen, it was requeſted, that the officiating prieſt ſhould at the ſame time be profeſſor of Popiſh canon law in Gottingen univerſity. No anſwer has yet been made to that propoſal. The making the prieſt at the ſame time a profeſſor, would render more difficult the reſtraining him from uſurping illegal powers, than if he could be cited as a private matriculated perſon before the rector. The miniſtry at Hanover are ſo wiſe, that they will act cautiouſly in ſo delicate a matter. If the prieſt is to be a profeſſor in the univerſity, they, and not a foreign biſhop, ſhould appoint him.

From *Reiſe, van* NICOLAI. 8 *Band.* Berlin, 1787.

The preface to this volume mentions, that Garve, in a letter to the author, had candidly acknowledged himſelf informed and convinced by many things Nicolai had advanced, vol. 7. Only he ſtill thinks, that though the Roman Catholic church is zealous to gain proſelytes, Proteſtantiſm is in no great danger from her efforts. This Nicolai allows, if Proteſtants were not led to imagine, that the principles and ſpirit of the Catholic church, and her claims of implicit faith, and of independence on the civil magiſtrate, were now altered; and that Jeſuits had left off their intrigues for inſinuating themſelves into the favour of Proteſtants, and gradually reconciling them to Popiſh ideas.

P. 45—65. There are ſix Proteſtant and five Catholic printing-houſes at Augſburg. Though the

the firſt are active and diligent, they have ſo many rivals in the neighbouring Proteſtant cities, Nurnberg, Ulm, &c. that their gains are inconſiderable. In the Popiſh preſſes, large folios and quartos of the works of the fathers, canon law, ſermons, lives and miracles of the ſaints, devotional and catechetical writings, and controverſial divinity, are daily publiſhed, and carried by travelling bookſellers to Bavaria, Swabia, and Tyrol, where theſe works have a ready ſale, eſpecially in monaſteries, though many of them conſiſt of ſix, and ſome of ſixteen volumes in folio. The ready market for ſuch publications, indicates prevailing ignorance and ſuperſtition, and contributes not a little to cheriſh and increaſe theſe evils.

P. 79—95. Augſburg is alſo a great market for pictures and images of ſaints, in many of which the repreſentations are ludicrous. To ſome of theſe, miraculous powers of curing diſeaſes, or of preſerving from calamities, are aſcribed. Ulrich, their tutelar ſaint, is ſaid to be buried in Augſburg, which brings many there to pay him their devotions. A cup, in which a tooth of this ſaint is fixed, is recommended for fevers, and for thoſe bitten with mad dogs; and a comb he uſed, is accounted an excellent preſervative againſt giddineſs, and pains of the head and ears. The earth in which his fleſh rotted, is thought ſo ſure a defence againſt rats, that for purchaſing it, much money comes to Augſburg.

The appendix to this 8th volume contains many additional proofs of the activity of Lavater, and of his friend Pfenninger, to ſpread Sailer's prayer-book among Proteſtants in Switzerland; of Sailer's entertaining principles leſs tolerant and moderate than that book ſeems to breathe; and of the probability that he was allowed, and even encouraged

couraged by his ſuperiors, to expreſs the doctrines of Popery in ſoft inſinuating language, for the purpoſe of perverting Proteſtants. If there is not legal proof of ſome of theſe particulars, there is at leaſt ſuch evidence as muſt go far to convince the impartial.

From *Reiſe*, *van* NICOLAI. 9 *Band*. Berlin, 1795.

The preface to this volume takes notice of Stattler, Hoffſtetter, and other Jeſuits, accuſing the author, the illuminati, the literati of Berlin, and the Proteſtant univerſities, as preachers of ſedition and murder. Nicolai treats the charge with the contempt which he thinks it merits; and only obſerves, that if he was to follow the morals in Stattler's *Allgemeine ſittenlehre*, publiſhed 1790, it would be allowable for him to murder, or falſely accuſe of the worſt of crimes, the learned father and his gentle aſſociates, in order to deſtroy all belief of, and regard to their accuſations.

P. 160—165. Eſslingen is about four miles diſtance from Ulm, and twenty-eight from Stuttgard. Wine and fruits, eſpecially baked pears, which are carried to remote parts, bring them yearly from 80,000 to 100,000 florins. An old opinion ſtill remains there, that if 25th May, the feſtival of St Urban, is clear and warm, the Summer and Harveſt will prove favourable; if cold and rainy, bad weather will prove deſtructive to their gardens and vineyards. On that day, the children of the vine-gardeners carry about a beautifully adorned image of the ſaint. If the weather is good, they receive preſents from the principal families; if it rains during the proceſſion, the ſaint is ſcolded, and his image plunged in a well in the market-place, as a deſerved puniſhment for his not

not causing the sun to shine. The number of Romish saints much exceeding the number of the days of the year, the same day is necessarily appointed for the festival of different saints. The Jesuits Boertius and Joningus, allot 56 saints, whom they name, and 5067 whose names are unknown, to 25th May; See *Acta Sanctorum, Maius, tom. 6. p.* 1. Many saints having the same name, it is no wonder that some mistakes of names and days happen, in adjusting their rank and order. Nineteen Urbans have been canonized. The antientest was Urban I., a Pope and martyr in the third century. A very different St Urban, neither Pope nor martyr, died on his bed in the fifth century, Bishop of Langres in Champagne. The good Bishop, who probably wished to drink the wine of his native country in perfection, was anxious by his prayers to prevent wind or rain hurting the vineyards. Happy century, when the prayers of holy bishops had such power! What pity, that not one of the emigrant French bishops, can by his prayers defend our vineyards from the more destructive ravages of the Sans Culottes! I should cheerfully give my vote for canonizing the bishop who could do this. Urban of Langres therefore well merited the honour of saintship. Unfortunately, however, his festival was fixed for 23d January, when gardeners and vine-dressers sit at their fire-sides. At Esslingen, therefore, he is forgotten; and on May 25th, they observe the festival of Pope Urban I., who was bastinadoed and beheaded, and, even after his death, cured many of the lame and gouty, but never had any influence on the thriving of gardens and vineyards. Melancholy it is, that Urban the Bishop should lose his honour, and Urban the Pope be unable to bestow good weather. Lately,

Vogels the Jesuit, in his *legende der heiligen*, a classic book for all the idle stories of the saints, has marked on 25th May, instead of Pope Urban, or any other of the name, a saint much dearer to their order, Gregory VII., whose craftiness and ambition has blasted the tranquillity of princes and subjects, more than ever gardens or vineyards were blasted by the cold north wind.

From *Reise, van* NICOLAI. 10 *Band*. Berlin, 1795.

P. 117—130. The celebrating the mass in German at Stuttgard, gives many Protestants sanguine hopes of a general reformation of the Popish church, especially as an opinion prevailed, that the late Duke of Wirtemberg had made this change in opposition to the will of the Pope. But that is impossible. It is an unchangeable principle of the Popish hierarchy, that the ecclesiastical power is above the secular. By the canon law, only the Bishop to whom the Pope has intrusted spiritual powers, or the Pope himself, and not the Prince, has a title to direct the religious concerns of a country. Often indeed the Prince seems to command. But this is mere appearance. The Catholic clergy, when they seem to obey the commands of a Prince, are indeed obeying their Bishop or the Pope, by whose direction or dispensations, they are impowered to comply with alterations agreeable to their rulers. Lately the Pope, from his own good pleasure, without consulting their rulers, has subjected a considerable part of the north of Germany, and all the northern kingdoms, to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Hildesheim as apostolical vicar. The Abbot Denina, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, every morning before breakfast, has

has mass celebrated in his chamber; but he could not do this without the allowance of the Bishop of Hildesheim, to whom all the Popish clergy in Bradenburg acknowledge themselves subject in spiritual matters. The Catholics in Berlin have purchased the free exercise of their religion. But the Bishop of Hildesheim, of whose jurisdiction the rulers of Brandenburg have had no legal notice, may, by his delegated papal powers, restrain or destroy the effects of this toleration. A clergy, not united with their country by the sweet ties of family relations, will naturally sacrifice her interests, when they interfere with the prosperity of the church, of the hierarchy, and of the court of Rome. The Duke of Wittemberg can make no change in the worship, even in his own court chapel, without the knowledge and consent of the Bishop of Constance, to whom his Popish clergy are subject; and the Bishop would not venture to allow their celebrating mass in German, without the Pope's permission. If the Duke believed himself independent on the Pope, and solicited no such permission, it was undoubtedly applied for by his clergy, or by the Bishop, without acquainting him. Reformations of Popish worship give Protestants more favourable ideas of the church of Rome, and prepare the way for their return to her communion. The Pope's permission being kept secret, the blind submission of the clergy to his dictates is thus concealed. When the circumstances which occasioned the permission of these partial reformations cease, the court of Rome gratifies her wishes, and revokes them. Often she makes a merit of granting what she cannot safely refuse, and seizes the first convenient opportunity of annulling the grant. Much have I suffered because I opposed the prevailing

imagination, that Popery is essentially changed, and approaching near to Protestantism, that the Pope has lost his power, and that Catholic princes have deprived their clergy of all undue influence; and because I argued from the unchangeable nature of the Catholic church, and the unshaken power of the hierarchy, that certain reformations could not have the effect which many expected. Late events in Popish countries have justified my apprehensions; and I can do no injustice to Catholics in asserting, what all their writers, and especially all the Jesuits from Marz and Bayrer to Sailer and Goldhagen, have with one voice maintained, that the Catholic church always is, and always will remain the same. When writing this, I read in the public prints that the Pope has refused confirmation to Count Trautsmandorff, whom the Emperor had nominated Bishop of Konigsgratz, on account of a treatise he had published at Pavia 1784, on the immunities of the clergy. It was boasted in 1782, that the Pope's visit to Vienna had only shown his weakness. What an outcry would have been raised, if one had then said, that the Pope would venture on such a step in 1794!

In this volume, Nicolai severely censures the church discipline in Wirtemberg, the minute inquiries at annual visitations into the religious and moral conduct of clergy and laity, and the prohibiting dancing, hunting, fishing, wine drinking, unnecessary journies, &c. as profanations of the Sabbath. This he considers as one cause of the many emigrations from that pleasant and fertile country, to Prussia, America, the Cape of Good Hope, &c. He has sufficiently proved, that numbers in that country cannot account for the many emigrations: because, in countries where the necessaries

ceſſaries of life are obtained with greater difficulty, and the population is ſtill greater, few or none emigrate. But the many emigrations may be accounted for by ill-judged taxations, and other unneceſſary burdens; and by men who can live plentifully by five days and a half's labour, gradually diminiſhing the time of their labour, till it can hardly ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life, their country becomes burdenſome to them, and they remove to leſs fruitful countries, where habits of induſtry and frugality, contracted by dire neceſſity, at length enable them to provide comfortably for themſelves and families.

Nicolai's *Reiſe*, II *Band. Berl.* 1796, contains judicious reflections on defects and blemiſhes in the theological and literary inſtitutions at Tubingen, but doth not juſtice to ſome of their excellencies and happy effects. The moſt valuable parts of that volume are, a diſplay of the bad influence of Kant's philoſophy, on the taſte, compoſition and ſentiments of ſeveral otherwiſe acute and able writers; and critical obſervations on the Celtic language.

12 *Band. Berl.* 1796, ſpeaks highly of the learning and good qualities of the Abbot, and of many others at St Blaſien; contains curious remarks on the beauties and defects of their buildings; and gives an account of a way of roofing houſes at Berlin, much lighter than that commonly in uſe, and better calculated for preventing or extinguiſhing fires.

NUMBER II.

The NUMBERS, CIRCUMSTANCES, *and* CHARACTERS *of* PROTESTANTS *and* CATHOLICS *in* SWITZERLAND *compared.*

From Mr COXE'*s Sketches of the State of Switzerland.* Lond. 1779.

P. 25. I WAS much ſtruck with the ſolitary appearance of Conſtance, a town once ſo flouriſhing in commerce, and ſo celebrated in the annals of hiſtory. There was a dead ſilence throughout, graſs growing in the principal ſtreets. Formerly, by the aſſiſtance of Zurich and Bern, it had driven out the Biſhop, and embraced the Reformation. But the league of Smalcad, of which Conſtance was a member, being defeated by Charles V., the town was obliged to ſubmit to the Emperor, and to readmit the Catholic religion. From this period it loſt its independence, fell by degrees into its preſent almoſt annihilated ſtate, and exhibits to ſome of the neighbouring Swiſs Cantons an inſtructive contraſt, which cannot but the more ſenſibly endear to them the commerce and liberties they enjoy.

P. 34, 35, 36. The abbot and town of St Gallen, are both allies of the Swiſs Cantons, and each has the peculiar privilege of ſending deputies to the General Diet. The abbot, who is choſen by ſeventy-two Dominican monks belonging to the abbey, formerly poſſeſſed the ſovereignty of the town. But the inhabitants ſhook off his authority, and became independent: and although, ſince that period, various diſputes have ariſen between the two rival parties, they have

have at different times been compromiſed by the interpoſition of the Swiſs Cantons. The town is generally Proteſtant, and its government ariſtocratical. The ſubjects of the abbot are moſtly Catholic. Every thing in this town was alive; all wore the appearance of induſtry and activity, exhibiting a ſtriking oppoſition to Conſtance. Yet in a place ſo commercial, I was aſtoniſhed to find the arts and ſciences cultivated, and literature in the higheſt eſteem.

P. 37—43. Before the Reformation, the whole Canton of Appenzel was under one government; but ſince that period, part of the inhabitants having embraced the Proteſtant religion, and the other part continuing Catholics, violent diſputes were kindled between them, which, after much conteſt, were at length compromiſed. By an agreement in 1597, the Canton was divided into two portions, Rhodes Exterior, and Rhodes Interior. It was ſtipulated, that the former ſhould be appropriated to the reſidence of the Proteſtants, and the latter to that of the Catholics. Accordingly, the two parties finally ſeparated, and formed two republics; their government, police, finances, &c. being totally independent of each other. Each diſtrict ſends a deputy to the General Diet. The whole Canton have however but one vote, and loſes its ſuffrage if the deputies are not unanimous. Rhodes Exterior is much larger, and more peopled in proportion, than the Interior; and the Proteſtants are in general more commercial and induſtrious than the Catholics. The former are ſuppoſed to amount to thirty-ſeven thouſand, the latter to twelve thouſand. The Proteſtant diviſion contains about ten thouſand men capable of bearing arms, the Catholic about three thouſand.—

P. 49. The Rheinthal, or Valley of the Rhein, belongs to Appenzel and the eight ancient Cantons, which alternately appoint a bailiff. The people are induſtrious, and manufacture a conſiderable quantity of linen, cotton, and muſlins. They conſiſt of both religions, but Proteſtants are moſt numerous.

P. 62—64. In the 16th century, the Reformation was introduced into the Canton of Glarus, but not excluſively. Both religions are tolerated, and the ſects live together in the greateſt harmony. This union is the more remarkable, when we conſider the fatal quarrels that have been kindled in Switzerland on account of religious tenets; and that in Appenzel the diviſion between the two ſects is diſtinctly marked, by their inhabiting different diſtricts, and living under ſeparate governments. In ſeveral parts of this Canton, the Proteſtants and Catholics perform ſervice in the ſame church, one after the other; and and all the offices of ſtate are amicably adminiſtered by the two parties. During the preſent and the preceding century, the Proteſtants have increaſed conſiderably in number, and their induſtry in every branch of commerce is greatly ſuperior; an evident proof how much the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the church of Rome fetters the genius, and depreſſes the powers of execution. The government is entirely democratical. The executive power is veſted in the Council of Regency, compoſed of forty-eight Proteſtants, and fifteen Catholics.

P. 83. The town of Rapperſchwyl formerly put itſelf under the protection of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden; but theſe Cantons ſhamefully oppreſſing the inhabitants, and encroaching upon their liberties, Zurich and Bern took poſſeſſion of the

the town in 1712, and reſtored to them their ancient rights. The inhabitants placed an inſcription over their gates, in teſtimony of their gratitude. They are all Catholics.

P. 89—91. The Magiſtrates of Zurich introduced the reformed religion 1524. Their example was ſoon followed by Bern, Schafhauſen, Baſil, with part of Glarus and Appenzel; the other Cantons continuing to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors. From this period, two religions have been eſtabliſhed in Switzerland; but their harmony has been occaſionally interrupted. Religious diſputes broke out with ſo much violence and animoſity, 1554, as to occaſion the firſt civil war among the Cantons, in which the Proteſtants were defeated, and Zuinglius loſt his life. In a ſecond religious war, 1656, the Catholics gained the advantage; and in a third, 1712, the Proteſtants were victorious. By the peace of Arow, which put an end to theſe unhappy differences, the treatment of the Proteſtants and Catholics in the common bailiefs is regulated. The firſt article ſtipulates, that in all the provinces which are ſubject to Cantons of different religons, there ſhould be a perfect equality between the two ſects, and that they ſhall both enjoy the ſame privileges: to which is added an expreſs prohibition to each party, not to make uſe of any terms of raillery or contempt, in ſpeaking of their reſpective worſhips.

P. 98. At Zurich there is more of the original Swiſs ſpirit of independence, than in any of the large towns of this country. The magiſtrates, leſs influenced by foreign courts, and above corruption, conſult always the real advantage of the Canton, and of the Helvetic confederacy. Zurich ſtill preſerves in the General Diet a very conſiderable

ſiderable ſway, which ſhe derives more from the opinion entertained of her integrity, than from her power. She is looked up to as one of the moſt independent of the Cantons. The inhabitants are induſtrious, and carry on with ſucceſs ſeveral different branches of manufacture: and there is no town in Switzerland where letters are more encouraged, or cultivated with greater ſucceſs.

P. 120. As Lucern is the firſt in rank and power among the Catholic Cantons, all affairs relative to religion are treated of in the Diet, which aſſembles in this town every year, compoſed of the deputies of theſe Cantons: and the Pope's nuncio reſides here. The town ſcarcely contains three thouſand inhabitants, has no manufactures of any conſequence, and little commerce. As to learning, it nowhere meets with leſs encouragement, and conſequently is leſs cultivated. What a contraſt to Zurich!

P. 150. The Cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, contain about eighty thouſand ſouls; and in caſe of neceſſity, could furniſh above twenty thouſand militia.——P. 153. I am now indeed in the very centre of civil liberty: Would, I could add, of religious too! But the church of Rome excluſively is eſtabliſhed here; and the people are in general bigotted, ſuperſtitious, and intolerant. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that this intolerant ſpirit is not wholly confined to the Catholic Cantons; for in thoſe where Proteſtants prevail, Calviniſm is alone admitted; and thus a nation which prides herſelf upon her freedom, denies the free exerciſe of religion to every other ſect, except that which predominates.

P. 234.

P. 234. The country of the Vallois contains about a hundred thousand souls, all Catholics.—P. 238. The republic of the Vallois is one of the allies of the Thirteen Cantons; and besides this general alliance, a particular treaty subsists between them and the seven Catholic Cantons, for the defence of their common religion.——P. 246. The people are in general dirty and indolent.

P. 303. By the little valley of Chene, we entered into the territory of Geneva. The sudden change from the poverty of the Savoyards, to the neatness and ease of these people, the populousness of the country, and the riches of its cultivation, affected me with pleasing admiration.

P. 306. All the possessions in the Pais de Vaud, which belonged to the Duke of Savoy, were wrested from him in the war with the Canton of Bern, declared against him in 1736, in defence of Geneva; and the same year the Reformation was introduced. From that period, all the Pais de Vaud (except the common bailliages of Grundson, Orbe, and a small portion of it which was ceded to Friburg), has been subject to Bern, and makes part of that Canton.——P. 322. The town of Orbe is comprised within the bailliage of Escholens, belonging to Bern and Friburg. These two Cantons alternately send a bailiff, who remains in office five years. When Bern appoints the bailiff, an appeal lies from his decision to the sovereign council of Friburg; as it does to the government of Bern, when he is nominated by Friburg. By these means, justice is nowhere more equally administered than in these common bailliages.

P. 329. The principality of Neufchatel and Vallengin, together with the Grisons, the Vallois, and

and the republic of Geneva, are only allies of the Swiss.——P. 330. The town of Neufchatel has a particular connexion with the Canton of Bern. The whole principality contains near forty thousand inhabitants.——P. 334. The principality of Neufchatel and Valentine is a limited monarchy, under the King of Prussia. The sovereign promises to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, and to tolerate no other sect, except within the districts of Landeran and Crossier, where the Catholic religion is dominant.

P. 386. The Canton of Friburg is entirely Catholic. It is supposed to contain about sixty thousand souls, without including the town, in which there are about six thousand. The commerce here is inconsiderable, and literature does not flourish.

P. 401. Besides the General Diet of the Thirteen Cantons and their allies, there is a Diet of the Protestant Cantons, with the deputies of the Protestants of Glarus and Appenzel, of the towns of St Gallen, Bienne, and Mulhausen, called the Evangelic Conference; and another of the Roman Catholic Cantons, with the deputies of the Catholics of Glarus and Appenzel, of the Abbot of St Gallen, and of the republic of the Vallois, called the Golden Alliance.

P. 411. The Canton of Bern contains about three hundred and fifty thousand souls, besides about eleven thousand in the capital. The reformed religion is universally established in its extensive dominions.

P. 449. The republic of Geneva is at present the most tolerating of all the reformed states of Switzerland, being the only government in this country which permits the Lutheran religion to be publicly exercised.

P. 469.

P. 469. The ſmall territory of Bienne contains ſcarcely ſix thouſand inhabitants.——P. 470. The Biſhop of Baſil is the ſovereign of this little ſtate.——P. 472. This Proteſtant republic, notwithſtanding the ſovereignty of its Catholic biſhop, enjoys in the fulleſt extent the power of impoſing taxes, contracting alliances, declaring war and peace, and in ſhort of exerciſing every act of abſolute and independent legiſlation.——P. 473. They are a very active and induſtrious people.

P. 478. The Canton of Soleure contains between forty and fifty thouſand, all Catholics.——P. 480. The ſoil of this Canton is fruitful, but there is a great want of hands for all the purpoſes of agriculture. The trade of the Canton is of little value, although they are very commodiouſly ſituated for carrying on an extenſive commerce.

P. 483. An alliance was concluded at Soleure, May 1777, between the King of France on the one ſide, and the Thirteen Cantons and their allies on the other, to continue in force during fifty years. By this treaty it is agreed, that if France ſhould be invaded, the Cantons and their allies are to furniſh an additional levy of ſix thouſand men.

P. 489. The inhabitants of Baſil have eſtabliſhed a great variety of manufactures, and carry on a very extenſive and lucrative trade.——P. 505. The French modes and faſhions, which are ſo univerſally ſpread among the principal inhabitants of Friburg and Soleure, are totally unknown at Baſil.

NUMBER III.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS.

From CHR. WILH. FRANZ WALCH *Neueste Religion's Geschichte ; i. e.* Latest Narratives of the History of Religion. 1 *th.* Lemgo 1771.

I. P. 14. THE cardinals assembled, 15th February 1769, for the election of a Pope in the room of Clement XIII.——P. 21. They learned, that the Court of Parma had published an edict, 30th January, abolishing several religious houses, limiting the number of mendicant friars, &c. in order that better provision might be made for the really necessitous, for orphans, and for parish priests who had not a sufficient maintenance.——P. 49. The French and Spanish cardinals received orders, that if a Pope was chosen disagreeable to their courts, they should instantly leave Rome.——P. 53, 54. Ganganelli was chosen, and assumed the name of Clement XIV. 19th May 1769.

IV. P. 220. The King of the Sicilies, 1769, banished foreign monks and confessors from his dominions. Parma imitated the example, and even abolished thirty cloisters.——P. 234. In Naples, one monk and several priests accused of crimes were imprisoned; and the money and goods of the banished Jesuits were employed in erecting schools, orphan-houses, workhouses, and correction-houses.——P. 235. At Madrid, 8th June, it was forbidden to publish any bulls, briefs, or rescripts from Rome, or edicts of the generals or provincials of any order, without the permission of his Majesty's council.——P. 236. At Naples,

Naples, the Carthusians of St Stephen and Bosco were deprived of certain civil and criminal jurisdictions, and the same were transferred to the King.——P. 239. The Pope published, 1st September 1769, a jubilee of two weeks for Rome, during which there was to be every afternoon a catechizing, and then a sermon, which, whoever attended, should for every attendance enjoy an indulgence of a hundred days.——P. 244. December 1769, this jubilee was extended to all the Catholic world, by a circular letter to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops. In this there are many excellent advices to subjects to pray for rulers, and to perform the duties they owe them. But how far the clergy, secular and regular, are by the divine law subject to civil rulers, former Popes had not, and, so far as we see, Clement XIV. has not decided.

Of the GRIEVANCES *of* PROTESTANTS *in* GERMANY, *and* MEASURES *taken for their* REDRESS.

V. P. 251—292. By the peace of Westphalia, the state of the three religions was to remain the same in different parts of the empire that it was, 1st January 1624. Yet the grievances of Protestants, and encroachments on their rights, were not thus removed. They increased after the unhappy clause added to the treaty of Ryswic, 1697, and especially after the proviso, 1720, that all things should be restored to the state in which they were at the treaty of Baden, 1714. Struvius has wrote the history of grievances before 1720; and the many grievances since, of which *Oentel's Repertorium, Regensb.* 1770, folio, contains a list, demonstrate, that nothing is easier than to

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injure the profeſſors of another religion, nothing more difficult than to procure reparation of ſuch injuries. The great ſource of theſe grievances, has been, the zeal of Catholics to ſettle, ſpread themſelves, and make proſelytes, where they had no right to do it by the peace of Weſtphalia. This has generally happened, when the government of Proteſtant ſtates has by ſucceſſion deſcended to Papiſts, or when Proteſtant princes have been perverted to popery. They pretended, that the introduction of the Simultaneum was no infringement on the rights of their ſubjects; though conſtant experience has taught, that this has gradually extirpated the old religion, and introduced the religion of the prince: not to urge, that the excluſive exerciſe of their religion was the ſtate of many of the Proteſtants, 1624, and conſequently ſhould have remained ſo by the treaty of Weſtphalia. The expence of proſecuting grievances before the Imperial Chamber is great; and, from various cauſes, the juſteſt ſentences are unexecuted. The Evangelic Body is entitled to aſk redreſs of theſe grievances from the authors of them; and, on their refuſal, to apply to the Emperor. Though this has not been without effect, yet in many inſtances it has proved inſufficient for defending their rights. Old grievances are not redreſſed, and new ones take place. The Electoral College repreſented their ſenſe of theſe things in an inſtrument delivered to the Emperor Francis, 10th March 1764, when they were aſſembled at Francfort to elect a King of the Romans. They expreſs their ſorrow that religious grievances increaſed, in violation of the proviſoes of the peace of Weſtphalia; and intreat his taking every legal method to redreſs paſt grievances, and to prevent them for the future. It is not to be ſuppoſed,

posed, that the Electoral College, notwithstanding their opposite religious sentiments, would have united in such a representation, had there been any doubt of the reality of these grievances, the dangerous consequences of conniving at them, and the insufficiency of the means hitherto used for their redress. To this the Emperor gave a favourable answer, 4th August 1764, that the Imperial Bench had not failed to examine and judge such complaints, when properly brought before them; and that the Imperial Chamber should also be instructed to give all dispatch in such causes. This was accordingly done in a rescript of the same date, exhorting them to administer speedy and effectual justice to those of both religions, according to the fundamental laws of the state. His desiring grievances to be specified, indicates his disposition to act in particular cases agreeably to those general declarations. His death soon followed. When Joseph II. succeeded, the Evangelic Body laid before him their many grievances, and petitioned their redress, in a representation signed at Ratisbon 18th March 1767, which is inserted, *Nova Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica. Band.* 7, p. 433. The acts of violence and persecution they had suffered by the influence of Popish priests, from 1720 to 1762, and a list of former complaints, few of which had obtained legal redress, were presented. The tediousness, the expence, and uncertain issue of processes, had in many cases occasioned the banishment of Protestant preachers and schoolmasters, the loss of their churches and schools, and at last the illegal introduction of the Simultaneum, which ordinarily issued in the destruction of the Protestant religion. Though the other rights and privileges they enjoyed in the *annus decretorius*, were as solemnly

ſecured to them as liberty of conſcience itſelf; the right of reforming confirmed by the peace of Weſtphalia, was ſo interpreted by many Catholics, as to deſtroy the great end of that treaty. Local commiſſions to bring back things to their ſtate 1624, would be the only ſpeedy and perfect cure of theſe evils. This repreſentation procured an anſwer from the Emperor, 8th January 1769, inſerted, *Nova Acta*, *Band*. 9. *p*. 1009. The way of redreſs, by complaints to the Imperial Bench, was always open, and, as Head of the empire, it would be his care to do ſpeedy and impartial juſtice to all, without reſpect of their perſons or religion. His Sacred Majeſty could not deviate from the legal methods of redreſs, and from the *anni decretorii* fixed by the treaty of Weſtphalia and other treaties of peace, or by late diets of the Empire. A change in theſe things does not depend upon one ſtate of the empire, but upon a general diet, and the whole contracting parties intereſted in ſuch a change. "By this clauſe the "Emperor diſapproved of the local commiſſions, "and the confining the *annus decretorius* to that "fixed by the peace of Weſtphalia, excluſive of "thoſe determined by the treaties of Ryſwic and "Baden, which the Evangelical Body had never ac-"knowledged as valid." This declaration was received by the Evangelical Body with the gratitude which it merited; and at a conference, 28th March 1770, new plans were formed for gaining more eaſily their good and public-ſpirited deſigns. They meant not to invade the rights of the Imperial Chamber, and confided in his Majeſty's perſonal virtues and gracious declaration. They came to a reſolution, 11th April, inſerted in *Oertel's Repertorium*, *p*. 128. They would not renounce the legal method of interceſſion, and the

propoſal

proposal they had often made of local commissions, whereby uncontested grievances could be most speedily redressed. Yet, in compliance with the Emperor's desire, and in hopes that the Imperial tribunals would be speedy and impartial in granting justice, they would direct those to apply to them who complained of grievances. But, as they wished not to be troubled themselves, and much less to trouble the Emperor with ill-grounded complaints, they had resolved to appoint a committee for carefully examining all petitions or complaints relating to religious grievances; who, when they found them well-grounded, should employ an able advocate authorised by the complainers to draw up a just representation of them, and lay it before the Supreme tribunal; and that there should be a voluntary collection for defraying the expences of poor Protestant churches. A more particular plan was unanimously fixed, 25th April 1770, inserted in *Oertel's Repertorium*, *p.* 130. These proceedings were approved of by a rescript of the Emperor, 19th June 1770, in which the Emperor's Bench, and the Imperial Chamber at Wezlar are directed to dispatch complaints of religious grievances preferably to all other causes, and in clear cases to grant immediate execution; and that, every year, both tribunals should send his Majesty a list, what causes of this nature had been brought before them, how they had been decided, or for what reasons the decision had been delayed. The committee of the Evangelic Body drew up a plan, 30th June, for the future managing complaints of grievances; which, at an evangelical conference, 7th July, was without variation approved. When they think complaints ill-founded, they will not dismiss them themselves, but give the grounds of their opinion to the

the Evangelical Body, to whom alſo they will leave the deciſion when their own ſentiments are divided, and before whom they will lay their proceedings every month. But a detail of their wiſe regulations, however intereſting in Germany, would be tedious to moſt of my readers. The zeal and prudence of the Evangelic Body, was equalled by their generous liberality; and by the month of October, 3591 rixdollars were collected, for carrying into execution their important plan.

NUMBER IV.

PROTESTANTISM IN POLAND.

In Bibliotheca Bremensis, Class. 3. Fasc. 4. Art. 4. is inserted *A Petition* in elegant Latin, *presented by the Dissidents in Poland and Lithuania* 1718, *to King Augustus II. and the States of the Kingdom*, in which the following facts are mentioned.

THEIR privileges were granted under Sigismund Augustus, confirmed by the oaths of succeeding princes, and by law and constitution declared unalterable; yet they were trampled upon by men of the greatest authority in the kingdom. Catholic consistories and tribunals, where their keenest enemies were their judges, usurped the cognizance of their ecclesiastical affairs, which law had reserved to the Diet of the kingdom; and, upon statutes against Arians and Socinians, whose tenets they abhorred, they were considered as declared heretics, and deprived of their churches, nay, of fortune, honour, and life. Even in civil causes with Catholics, to injure the Dissidents, ecclesiastical matters were artfully introduced; and sometimes the Catholic debtor charged his Dissident creditor with blasphemy, that he might avoid payment of the debt. For a word, perhaps never uttered, or only obliquely touching at religion, without legal citation, without hearing the panels, without a due examination of witnesses, men of the most wretched characters became lords of the lives and fortunes of the Dissidents; and their accusations of blasphemy, by the laws of the kingdom a capital crime,

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are admitted against men whom they never saw. To omit the fate of the Eberizii, Goczenius, and many others both nobles and commons, Captain Kehler having lately retorted on the court of Rome, some reflections which an advocate cast on Luther, on the charge of that advocate, was condemned to have his tongue plucked out, and his body cut into four parts, which was mitigated to the punishment of hanging, on condition of his abjuring the Protestant faith. Only forty hours intervened between the pretended crime, and the execution of the sentence. The treatment of Sigismund ab Unruy, September 1715, was still more shocking. Even the Doctors of the Sorbonne pronounced the proceedings contrary to all laws human and divine. Without any legal pretext, upon the bare decree of Catholic consistories, their churches were shut up, taken from them, and employed in Popish worship, or razed to the ground, cruelty, in some instances, insulting even the bones of the dead. And when their church at Szizeponawic was maliciously burnt in the night time, they were prohibited from rebuilding it under a fine of 2000 ducats; and imprisonment, and even death, was threatened to their clergymen, who should further officiate even under a tent. Every where they were prohibited from repairing old churches, or rebuilding those destroyed by war or other calamities. In many places they were not allowed the free administration of baptism, the celebration of marriage, and burial of the dead, and in other places were obliged to purchase allowance at an exorbitant rate; so that many, unable to bear these burdens, were forced to apply to the priests for baptism, who then claimed the baptized as members of their church, and constrained them to their

worship,

worſhip, however unwilling. Some prieſts have even prohibited diſpenſing the Lord's Supper, without their ſigned permiſſion. Prieſts ſometimes force on dying Diſſidents the ſacrament. In many places, the liberty of teaching ſchools is taken away. Paſtors, and even ſometimes laymen, cannot travel without hazard of their fortune and life. In different places, they are puniſhed for not attending proceſſions and other ceremonies contrary to their confeſſion. Some Biſhops prohibit Catholics, under pain of excommunication, from attending the funerals of a Diſſident, however connected with him by blood, marriage or friendſhip. Without any right, they frequently viſit the churches of the Diſſidents, which occaſions an expence, that many of them can ill ſupport. Diſſidents, who have deſerved beſt of their country, are precluded from every public office; and thoſe whom different diſtricts, according to law and ancient conſuetude, have choſen deputies, are not allowed to take their ſeats in the tribunals. Some generous Catholics, for reclaiming againſt this violence, have been cited before conſiſtories as favourers of heretics, and enjoined ſilence on pain of excommunication. In many cities, they are not only excluded from being elected magiſtrates, but from the common rights of citizenſhip. In petitioning the redreſs of theſe grievances, beſides their right from the laws of the kingdom, they plead the conduct of ſome of their moſt illuſtrious princes. Stephen Bathareus, when urged to deprive the Diſſidents of a church at Brodnica, replied, " Let us tolerate them. " They have our promiſe, which it is not lawful " for us to break." And to another who argued, that as there was but one law, there ought to be only one faith in Poland, he anſwered, " He was

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" a king of nations, not of consciences." From these principles, he issued a royal mandate against those who had raised a tumult against the Lutherans in Vilna 1581. When the church of the Dissidents at Vilna was pulled down by a mob 1682, King John III. appointed Commissaries to inquire into that matter, esteeming himself bound, not only by his coronation oath, but by christian pity, to discourage such outrages. Archbishops and Bishops have not only joined from time to time with laymen in ratifying and confirming the rights of the Dissidents, but on some occasions have appeared by themselves as witnesses and guardians of these rights. There was a time, when the Dissidents were the majority in the senate, and could have promoted their own interest at the expence of that of the Catholics. But they would not seek their own tranquillity, by disturbing that of the state. They only asked liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience, and required no security for that liberty, but the laws enacted, and the oaths by which they were confirmed. Posterity are bound to what their forefathers swore in their name, and the rather, as by these oaths public peace was established. If the oaths of princes may be broken in this instance, a fatal precedent is given for violating them in others; and thus civil liberty will be destroyed.

The

The Paper intituled, *Jura et Libertates Dissidentium in regno Poloniæ, presented by the Dissidents* 1718 *to the King and Nobles of Poland*, having become extremely scarce, was inserted *Bibl. Brem. Cl.* 8. *Fasc.* 2. *Art.* 1. From that Paper, what follows is extracted.

Many in Poland of all ranks early embraced the reformation, and having presented a confession of their faith at the Diet of Warsaw 1561, to Sigismund Augustus, the King took the subscribers of that confession under his protection. For six years after, their synods yearly met; and in a national synod at Sendomir 1570, articles of agreement were signed between the Lutherans and the reformed: and now the doctrines of the reformation so flourished, and took so deep root, that the King favoured them, the greater part of the senate embraced them; even some of the ecclesiastical senators began to waver; and though they were not the most numerous in the equestrian order, they were the most distinguished for abilities and influence. Even in royal cities, they were allowed the free use of churches, schools and burial places; and their property in them was secured by the King in conventions of the kingdom, and all were prohibited from molesting them in the exercise of their religion. After the death of Sigismund Augustus, a general confederacy of all ranks 1573 bound themselves to elect no King who should not confirm all their privileges by oath, and particularly the preserving universal peace among those of different religious sentiments. They bound themselves and their successors for ever, by oath, faith, honour and conscience, to shed no blood, or inflict no punishment, on account of religious opinions or rites of worship; and that

if any ſhould attempt to ſhed blood on that account, whatever legal authority he might pretend, ſo far from aſſiſting him, they would oppoſe his attempts, and endeavour his deſtruction, as a diſturber of the public tranquillity. Accordingly when Henry was elected, he ſwore, neither himſelf to oppreſs, nor to ſuffer any to be oppreſſed, on account of religion, and afterwards publiſhed a proclamation to that effect, April 1574. What then took place, was conſidered as a rule and directory in future elections and coronations. Stephen, Henry's ſucceſſor, not only took a like oath in favour of the Diſſidents, but added to it, that if in any particular he ſhould violate his oath, his ſubjects ſhould be *ipſo facto* freed from their allegiance, and that he would never aſk from any perſon abſolution from this oath, or accept it, if offered: and, 8th February 1576, he iſſued a proclamation, declaring the obligations he had come under, to be perpetually and inviolably firm. At the diet for his coronation, 4th May 1576, many of the higheſt rank both among the clergy and laity, conſented to, and approved theſe grants in favour of the Diſſidents. The conduct of this excellent Prince correſponded with his declarations. In Vilna 1581, both Lutherans and Calviniſts ſuffered various inſults and injuries. By orders of the Biſhop, books containing their doctrine were violently taken from the printer and burnt. They who attended the funerals of the Diſſidents were mocked and inſulted; and two miniſters returning from a funeral, were almoſt buried with ſtones, thrown by ſtudents and an idle mob. It was even threatened to pull down and deſtroy their churches. The King iſſued a mandate, 26th September 1581, expreſſing his ſenſe that religion was to be propagated, not by fire and

ſword,

ſword, but by good inſtruction and example; declaring his abhorrence of ſuch intolerant proceedings, and his reſolution to maintain the liberties of the Diſſidents; and injoining the chief magiſtrate at Vilna, to publiſh proclamations againſt riots, and to ſeize and impriſon any who might excite or aſſiſt in them, till the King ſhould be acquainted. Stephen died 12th December 1586; and on the 27th of that month, the ſenators and nobility of the palatinates of Cracow, Sendomir and Lublin, formed a confederacy, in which they declared the ſtatute againſt heretics 1438 to be now abrogated. Myszkowski, Biſhop of Cracow, was the firſt who ſubſcribed this confederacy. Soon after, the confederacy appointed a ſtrict inquiry to be made, who were the authors and abettors of a riot in which a Proteſtant church at Cracow had been pulled down, that they might be ſeized, impriſoned, and tried at the election diet. Sigiſmund III, who was elected Auguſt 1587, took an oath at his coronation, of the ſame tenor with King Stephen. In his *pacta conventa*, he not only confirmed the rights of the Diſſidents, but ſwore to allow to both parties, proceſs and execution againſt all who ſhould dare to violate the public peace. The tribunal of the kingdom having preſumed by certain decrees to diſturb the peace of the Diſſidents, the diet 1627, declared that the tribunal had no power of making new laws, or of inflicting penalties not denounced by law, and that ſentences in which they had arrogated to themſelves ſuch power, were null and void. Licentious men however continued to raiſe mobs, and commit outrages, under pretence of regard for the Catholic religion. To check their turbulent ſpirit, the diet at Warſaw 1631, ap-

pointed them to be prosecuted and punished as disturbers of the public peace.

After the death of Sigismund III, a general confederacy of the States of Poland and Lithuania, July 1632, engaged, upon honour and conscience, to defend the rights of the Dissidents, and to oppose all who should endeavour to deprive them of these rights, and injoined that none should assist in executing sentences, which tribunals might illegally pass against them. In royal cities, where the Dissidents had churches already erected, they might retain and use them, but not erect them in royal cities where hitherto there had been none, though, even in those cities, every one might privately worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. The Archbishop, Bishops, Senators, Nuncios, &c. subscribed. Only, the Bishops and some of the Popish laity, for the first time, annexed this clause to their subscription, *salvis juribus ecclesiæ Romanæ*. But to prevent the abuse of this clause, in the *pacta conventa* that same year, when Uladislaus IV. was elected, it was declared, that such protestation should no way derogate from the rights of the Dissidents; and in after confederacies, when Roman Catholics annexed this obnoxious clause to their subscription, the Protestants, using a similar liberty, adjoined to theirs, " let the rights of the Roman Catholic church be so preserved, that the laws of the kingdom and free exercise of religion among the Dissidents be also maintained." The coronation oath of Uladislaus IV. was of the same tenor with those of Henry, Stephen, and Sigismund III.; and by the first constitution of the coronation diet, all the acts, confederacies and rescripts of the last *interregnum* were approved. All this notwithstanding, the Dissidents being often dragged

ged to courts, chiefly by turbulent priests, and oppressed by the decrees of the tribunals, applied for redress of their grievances to the diet at Warsaw 1638. But lest, in the dangerous state of the kingdom at that time, the public councils should be disturbed by introducing disputes about religion, some of the most eminent Bishops signed a deed, prohibiting their chaplains or priests to commence any processes against the Dissidents, without consulting them. The diet itself commanded the tribunal, not to take cognizance of causes, which the laws of the kingdom had not described, and entitled them to judge; and pronounced null any decrees they should pass in opposition to this constitution.

After the death of Uladislaus IV., a general confederacy at Warsaw, July 1648, adopted the resolution of the confederacy 1632, concluding with a remarkable declaration, that this confederacy in every point shall be an eternal law, which they engage, for themselves and posterity, constantly to observe and defend. In the *pacta conventa*, the security of the Dissidents was provided for, and the bad effects of the new form of subscription guarded against, in the same manner as had been done in 1632. John Casimir was elected king, and his coronation oath and confirmation of the rights of the Dissidents, were in the same terms as those of Sigismund III. The election and coronation diets, and some subsequent ones, for ten years, put off from time to time the consideration of the grievances of the Dissidents, on account of the calamitous state of the kingdom, always promising to give them every reasonable satisfaction at the next diet. But it was some consolation to the Dissidents, so often disappointed, that, 1650, the king, the primate in name of the

other bishops, the marischal in name of the nuncios, by separate writs promised the confirming their rights. At length, in his last diet 1667, the king confirmed these securities by a public law.

As yet, their lawful rights had only been weakened by connivance at the injuries done them, and by delaying from time to time the redress of their grievances. But now they were more violently shaken by restrictions of their rights, and at last were almost pulled up by the enacting of laws unfavourable to them. This sorrowful epocha chiefly commenced in the *interregnum* after the abdication of John Casimir 1668, when the confederacy altered, in some particulars, the terms in which former confederacies had guarantied their rights, and added new restrictions much to their prejudice. Hitherto, in royal cities where the Dissidents had no public church, they were allowed to worship God in their own houses. This liberty was now restricted to Dissidents dwelling at court, or occasionally attending diets or tribunals of justice. The servants of the commonality were not allowed to attend; and preaching and singing of psalms were prohibited. Former confederacies promised protection to men of every religion, not even Jews excepted. This not only excluded the Arians, but decreed that all apostates from the Catholic faith should be banished. Grievous as this was in itself, it became more so, through the odious interpretations put on these restrictions and penalties, and from the measures of this confederacy being followed by those after the death of Michaelis and John III. Protestations however were taken, that these measures could not prejudge unalterable laws, confirmed by so many confederacies, and by the oaths of princes: And when Michaelis was elected 1669, the

the *pacta conventa*, coronation oath, and confirmation of the rights of the Diffidents, were precisely the fame as in the election of Henry and his fucceffors. Happy had it been for the Diffidents, if the public faith had fufficed to protect them. But, in the diet 1670, the rigour of the *interregnum* confederacy was confirmed; and charges of Arianifm, Jewifh facrilege, or apoftafy, were to be tried on any day or month, and to be difcuffed, previoufly to other caufes.

Michaelis died 1673, and was fucceeded by John III., who came under the fame engagements as his predeceffors with refpect to the privileges of the Diffidents; and, indeed, that pious and wife prince was not unmindful of his oath, and of their legal privileges: For when, at Vilna 1682, the church of the Lutherans, and their other public buildings, were tumultuoufly pulled down, dead bodies caft out of their graves, and all the furniture of their church fpoiled, the king appointed commiffaries to redrefs thefe grievances, and to feize and execute juftice on the guilty. The commiffaries, of whom the Bifhop of Vilna was one, according to juftice, appointed the guilty to be punifhed, and the church, fchool, &c. of the Diffidents to be rebuilt. This decree the king ratified. As the Diffidents were fometimes unjuftly perfecuted and oppreffed, on pretence of the laws againft Arians, the diet 1685 prohibited any, who were not profeffed Arians, Jews, Apoftates, or guilty of facrilege, from being tried upon thefe ftatutes, under the penalty of a fine, and the nullity of the fentence. Upon the death of this excellent prince, 1696, the general confederacy adopted the meafures of the two laft *interregnums*, as to the Diffidents, with this addition, that they excluded from the public protection, not only

Arians

Arians and Apostates, but Quakers and Mennonites. In the *pacta conventa*, when Augustus II. was elected, the other privileges of the Dissidents were guarantied, as in the *pacta* of John III. But this clause was added, that in the distributing dignities and seats in the senate and tribunals, the antient practice of our predecessors of pious memory, John Casimir, Michaelis, and John III., should be invariably observed, except that the Anabaptists and Quakers should have no claim to the privileges of Dissidents. This law at first sight seems favourable to the Dissidents, and to allow them (Mennonites and Quakers only excepted) access to public offices. But the rule of distributing these was made, not the practice of Sigismund, Augustus, &c. under whom the Dissidents had enjoyed such offices, but of the three last kings, under whom they had not been appointed to them; and hence the clause was explained to their prejudice. It should be remembered to the honour of Stanislaus Swiecicki, Bishop of Posnonia, that of his own accord, in consequence of information from senators and others, as to the vexatious processes carried on against the Dissidents, he issued an order, 1701, to the clergy of his diocese, to give no countenance to such processes, and to maintain peace with the Dissidents.

In Great Poland, there were originally sixty-three churches of Dissidents; now only eight; in Lesser Poland, one hundred and thirty, now only seven; in Lithuania, one hundred and forty-six, now fifty-one. In Great Poland, seven schools, now only one; in Lesser Poland, fifteen, now none; in Lithuania, eight, now three.

From

From WALCH's *Neueste Religion's geschichte*, 4 *th.* Lemgo 1774.

I. P. 9—208. By a fundamental law, 1573, which every king was ſworn to obſerve, the Diſſidents in Poland, *i. e.* thoſe of the Greek church and Lutherans, were entitled to the ſame civil privileges as Catholics, and to the free exerciſe of their religion. For above a century, they poſſeſſed theſe rights. Many encroachments were made on them ſince the reign of Sigiſmund III. But, by the diets 1717 and 1736, they were almoſt annihilated, and nothing remained but a very limited toleration. The Diſſidents complained of theſe reſolutions as unjuſt and unconſtitutional. Redreſs was ſought during the reign of Auguſtus III.: but, eſpecially after his death, the diſturbing public worſhip, the artifices of the Popiſh clergy to deprive them of their churches, and other poſſeſſions and privileges, the expenſiveneſs of proceſſes, and the partiality of judges, excited their deſire to guard, in a manner more ſure and leſs expenſive, againſt the furious aſſaults of falſe zeal. This was the more neceſſary, as the excluſion of the Diſſidents from public offices and royal favour, had involved many of them in poverty; and the apoſtaſy of others much diminiſhed their numbers and influence. Catholics evidently meant farther to limit their toleration to exerciſing religion only in their own houſes, to forbid their purchaſing lands, and to reduce them to the ſituation of the Jews, till at length they could be expelled the kingdom, as the Arians formerly were. In theſe circumſtances, it was no wonder that the heads of the Diſſidents ſhould take alarm, to ward off, if poſſible, the intended blow. They hoped to gain weight to their remonſtrances, by the influence

ﬂuence of the court of Ruſſia, whoſe views they favoured in the election of the preſent King. Money was collected for employing agents, for carrying on proper correſpondence, and for diſtributing *gratis*, at home and abroad, various publications relating to their rights, and the encroachments upon them. At the convocation diet, May 1764, it was reſolved, inſtead of granting the Diſſidents any relief, to exclude them from certain profitable employments in the ſalt-works and poſt-office, which ſome of them had enjoyed under the late King; and Danzig was required to yield their chief church to the Papiſts. At the election diet of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, September 1764, the memorials of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian Embaſſadors, in favour of the Diſſidents, had ſo little effect, that new grievances were added; the King being bound by the *pacta conventa* to ſwear that he would not allow the Diſſidents to build new churches. At the coronation diet, November, bolder and more explicit demands were made in favour of the Diſſidents, by the Ruſſian, Pruſſian, Daniſh, and Britiſh Embaſſadors. Though thus ſupported, they would have contented themſelves with ſecurity for the exerciſe of their religion, without aſpiring to the ſenatorial office. Nor was the King unfriendly to theſe moderate requeſts, though policy led him to conceal his ſentiments from both parties. The bigotry however of the Catholics oppoſing even this, it was natural that the Diſſidents, and the courts which ſupported them, ſhould riſe in their demands. The Pruſſian and Ruſſian Embaſſadors gave in complaints, December 1764, and demanded a final anſwer. The neceſſity of reſtoring the Diſſident nobility to their old privileges, in order to give ſtability to any liberty of conſcience granted their

brethren,

brethren, now appeared in a ſtrong light. At the next general diet, October and November 1766, petitions were preſented by the Diſſidents themſelves, and the Ruſſian, Pruſſian, Daniſh, and Britiſh Embaſſadors, that, according to the peace of Oliva, they ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion; that the churches and ſchools taken from them ſhould be reſtored; that they ſhould be allowed to build new ones; and that there ſhould be friendly conferences, how far the Diſſidents might be admitted to offices of truſt or profit in the ſtate. But the blind zeal and party ſpirit of the Catholics, and the paſtoral letters by which Soltyk, Biſhop of Cracow, had inflamed them, prevented the adopting moderate meaſures. In his ſpeech at the diet, he curſed himſelf if he ſhould conſent to grant them any thing; urged, as applicable to them, the bloody laws enacted againſt heretics in the darkeſt times; and propoſed, that whoſoever ſhould dare to ſpeak for them at the diet, ſhould be *ipſo facto* proſcribed. This was followed with a general ſhout of applauſe, and with violent declarations, not only againſt the Diſſidents, but all who dared to plead for them. Many openly and loudly inſiſted, that the Ruſſian declaration ſhould be torn in pieces. An abſurd and barbarous decree would have been paſſed, ſuitable to this diſpoſition of the diet, had not the King recommended to attend to the dictates of humanity, and to the intereſts of the kingdom, in the treatment of the Diſſidents, without however endangering the eſtabliſhed religion, by allowing them a place in the legiſlature. Other Biſhops, however, though with more decency, diſcovered the ſame intolerant ſpirit as Soltyk. Czortorycki, Biſhop of Poſnonia, propoſed that the Poles ſhould be prohibited from ſending their

children

children to foreign Protestant universities, or from employing, in teaching them, foreign tutors and governors. That humane and free-thinking prelate meant not to hurt the Dissidents: his family had been often upbraided with secretly favouring them: and he chose to retort the charge on some of the zealots of the opposite party, who at that time had employed Mnizeck, a Calvinist minister in Switzerland, to educate two young noblemen. Many however perceived not his design; and through such speeches, the enthusiasm and fury of the deputies was not a little inflamed. On November 24th, many, by indecent cries and noise, would not suffer the declaration of the foreign courts to be read; threatened to strike dead one of the deputies, if he spoke a word in favour of peace; and would not allow the chancellor to address them in the name of the King. The King attempted to dissolve the session. To this they would not consent, till they had signed Soltyk's proposals. At length, the King suddenly left them, and was followed by the primate and others: and thus this furious session ended. Soltyk was accounted a free-thinker, and his behaviour was far from clerical. But though his speeches were probably dictated by personal hatred to the King, and other political and interested motives, their effect was the same, in promoting a false religious zeal in others, as if his motives had been indeed more honest. The fine appearance, the flowing eloquence of the Bishop, and the sumptuous entertainments he gave, procured him a fatal influence. The zealots were also encouraged by hopes of aid from the Austrian court. Pope Clement XIII., in a brief to the Primate, 7th September 1766, had admonished him not to suffer the immunities of the church to be diminished,

nished, or any thing yielded to the Dissidents: and Visconti, his nuncio, in a speech at the diet, 12th November, insisted, that allowing the exercise of any other religion than the Popish, was a violating the Catholic religion, and the laws of the church. On 24th November, the college of Bishops drew up and proposed to the diet, a constitution, confirming all former laws that tended to secure the Catholic faith against Dissidents, particularly those of 1717, 1733, 1736, and of the convocation diet 1764, threatening punishment to all, of whatever station, who should dare to act in opposition to those decrees. This constitution, and an answer to the foreign courts, also composed by the Bishops, was adopted by the diet. In the last it was promised, for the gratification of those courts, that the rights of the Dissidents, according to the laws since 1717, should be preserved, and their complaints and grievances considered by the college of Bishops. Thus, the claims of the Dissidents were to be judged by laws which had occasioned all the injuries done to them, and which had been unjustly and unconstitutionally enacted in violation of the solemn securities given them for their privileges, and without any fault on their part. The expressions of the new constitution were so general, dark and undetermined, that sufficient pretexts were left for oppressing and persecuting the Dissidents in time to come: and the examining and deciding their complaints, was left to that very order which they considered as the chief authors of their sufferings. This rash conduct provoked the courts which had interposed for the Dissidents, to rise in their demands, and to unite together for obliging the Poles to grant them. This they had intimated to the King of Poland, January 1767. The court of Sweden,

4th October 1767, declared their acceſſion to theſe meaſures, and recommended the calling of a new diet, to reſtore peace. The rights of the Diſſidents were well defended in a ſtate paper publiſhed at Peterſburg December 1766, intituled, "*Expoſitio jurium eorum qui Diſſidentium nomine veniunt;*"—from the laws and conſtitution of Poland; from different treaties of peace, and from the principles of the law of nature. An appendix was added, confuting, with great learning, accuracy and wit, a memorial for the Catholics, preſented by Rzewieſki the Poliſh Envoy. More important events ſoon followed. The Diſſidents formed a confederation, in which even ſome Catholics joined, for abrogating the conſtitution 1766; and, uſing the majeſtatical rights claimed in Poland by ſuch confederations, invited the aid of the Czarina for guarantying their rights. The Czarina, by a diploma 2d January 1767, promiſed them her aſſiſtance for recovering their civil and eccleſiaſtical privileges. This confederacy was publicly known, March 1767. The Ruſſians marched troops to Thorn and Lithuania; but the confederacy neither took up arms nor raiſed troops, which at that time might have procured them from their alarmed enemies a very advantageous peace. The confederacy was ſubſcribed, 20th March 1767, at Thorn, by three hundred and nine Poliſh noblemen; and the ſame day, at Sluyzck, by two hundred and ſixty Lithuanian noblemen. April 1767, the cities of Thorn, Elbing and Dantzig, joined the confederacy, ſtipulating at the ſame time from the confederates, the defence of their rights. Marienburg, and twenty-two leſſer cities, ſoon followed the example. The confederates had frequent meetings, for examining alleged grievances; what was neceſſary for

for redressing them, and preventing new ones; and in what particulars they might safely condescend to the Catholics. Both confederacies sent deputations to the foreign courts favourable to them, and to their own Sovereign. The King of Poland received them with gracious assurances of favour. The grievances of particular churches and cities were reduced to order, and read in a general meeting about the 15th of July. All the Prussian cities (except Dantzig) had been deprived of their parish churches; and thus the exercise of the Protestant worship lost in many of them, and in others, confined to small houses of prayer, or even to a chamber in the Town-house, and this too, burdened with a variety of taxes, and limited as much as possible by the Popish clergy. Even where the free exercise of the evangelical religion is allowed in a city, the minister dares not officiate in the adjacent villages, and to strangers of his communion. They must contribute equally with the Catholics, to a worship which they deem idolatrous. The dues of the Metropolitans are often arbitrarily raised in opposition to the most solemn agreements, and their jurisdiction extended over magistrates and preachers. Protestant churches are often shut up, or not suffered to be repaired: their ministers affronted and injured with impunity. The Popish clergy intrude upon the sick-beds of the Protestants, and even force the host into their mouths. Parents, though both Protestants, are obliged to suffer their children to be educated Papists, if one or other of the grandfathers, or even great grandfathers, was of that religion. The neglect of Popish feasts and fasts is punished. Where there is no Protestant church, a preacher of that communion is not allowed to visit the sick. Synods are prohibited.

In some cities, no Protestant can be a burgess. In the sickness or absence of a pastor, the metropolitan will not suffer any neighbouring one to perform worship. They who have Popish wives, are not allowed to contribute to the maintenance of the Protestant minister or schoolmaster. New converts to Protestantism are persecuted, and hindered from communicating with the Protestant minister. In Dantzig, the Bishops officials assumed a jurisdiction in matrimonial matters, even over Protestants; and though by law, no Jesuit should perform worship, or even dwell there, yet they not only perform worship in the Royal chapel, but, since 1715, have erected two schools. Religious houses claim an exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, and afford a sanctuary to malefactors. Lengnich, the recorder at Dantzig, advised that the year 1601, when the Swedish war began, should be the *annus normalis* of their demands, as many of their grievances were not redressed by the peace of Oliva 1660: but the nobility thought they would be sufficiently happy, were things restored to their state at that peace. The aid of the united courts was solicited for recovering, and their guaranty for securing, their rights. The mornings at Thorn and Sluyzck, were employed in business; but, for the entertainment of the Russian officers, the evenings were often devoted to plays, balls, and feasting; while the Papists were spending the same hours in their churches, in fasting and prayer. The ignorance of the Polish nobility, through the want of churches, and good instruction and example, is some alleviation of this unsuitable conduct. The Russians saw, that at an ordinary diet, where a decree could be prevented by the opposition of one deputy, nothing was to be expected,

and

and that, to gain any thing for the Diffidents, it was neceffary that a diet fhould be held under a confederacy. A defired opportunity offered for gaining the Catholics to their views. A party favoured by the court, had held a diet under a confederacy, and made many ufeful reformations in the internal police of the kingdom; in the regulation of courts of juftice; in the authority of military commanders; in a method of electing marifchals and deputies, which would prevent all cabals, bribery and riot; in the finances, and in levying money from the clergy. An augmentation of troops, and farther meafures, were intended. The nobility, alarmed at thefe reftraints on their injuftice and oppreffions, wifhed the annulling thefe regulations, and even the dethroning the King. Ruffia was jealous of meafures which might increafe the ftrength of Poland, and render her lefs dependent on foreign courts. Senfible of this, the difaffected afked the aid of the Czarina, and offered, on their part, the fupporting the caufe of the Diffidents. Pruffia, too, was alarmed. The minifters of both courts, in a private audience, 11th November 1766, requefted, that the laws enacted 1764, for determining law proceffes, matters of police and military affairs, by plurality of voices, fhould not henceforth extend to ftate matters, taxes, or augmentation of troops. In this fituation, it was no wonder that the deputies of the difaffected fhould be well received by the court of Peterfburg. The reftoring their old laws was promifed, on condition of the nation's replacing the Diffidents in their former rights. The malecontents fecretly wifhed dethroning the King; and the Ruffians, the replacing the Diffidents in their civil as well as ecclefiaftical rights. But thefe particulars were not

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expressly stipulated, and the contracting parties mutually meant to overreach one another. A plan was however formed, that a general confederacy of the malecontents and Dissidents, should, under the Russian protection, hold a diet for abrogating the innovations introduced by the court party, and restoring the rights of the Dissidents. Out of the smaller confederacies, there were formed, June 1767, general confederacies at Rodam in Poland, and Wilna in Lithuania. The last was subscribed by 80,000 noblemen, and that at Rodam by 72,000. The proceedings at Rodam would have been less favourable to the Dissidents than those at Wilna, had it not been the terror of the Russian crown. The malecontents could not however justly complain of this violence; for they themselves had solicited the Russian aid, though they knew that the condition of it was, that favour to the Dissidents which they were now unwilling to grant. The Lithuanian general confederacy having united itself to that at Rodam, Prince Radzivil removed the seat of the general confederacy to Warsaw. It was resolved to admit none, who were not confederates, to a seat and vote in the approaching diet; and hence, many Bishops, and other enemies to the Dissidents, subscribed or signified their assent to the confederacy, though the Bishops, by a protestation against the Dissidents, contradicted themselves. As this protestation was not admitted, most of them, to secure their activity at the diet, sent new acts of accession in terms more agreeable. The confederacies at Thorn and Wilna were acknowledged legal, 26th September, united to the grand confederacy, and promised at the ensuing diet the redress of their grievances. Yet those very persons who held the diet in 1767, in 1768 formed a confederacy,

federacy, and in 1770 publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the confederacies of the Diſſidents, rebellion. The King, in compliance with the court of Ruſſia, and the general confederacy, ſummoned a diet to Warſaw againſt 5th October. In many places, there was much heat and diſorder, and in ſome, even bloodſhed, at chooſing the deputies, and giving them inſtructions. Inflammatory letters from Biſhop Soltyk and Pope Clement XIII., warning the Poliſh Biſhops againſt joining the confederacy, contributed not a little to this. Moſt of the Biſhops publiſhed that warning. Zoluſki of Kiow, and Szeptiſki of Plazko, did it in paſtoral letters. The firſt ordered prayers during the diet, for ſuppreſſing and bringing to nought every thing oppoſite to the Catholic faith. In another letter to the knights, the Pope recommends the ſame firmneſs in refuſing the demands of the Diſſidents, which they had ſhown in the diet 1766. When the diet aſſembled at Warſaw, 5th October, Durini the Pope's nuncio preſented to them the above papal brief, and a bull of excommunication againſt any who ſhould conſent to meaſures hurtful to the holy Romiſh religion. The Mariſchal Prince Radzivil propoſed, that a committee ſhould be appointed to examine with the Ruſſian ambaſſador the grievances of the nation and of the Diſſidents, and to determine what was proper, ſo that the diet ſhould ratify their reſolutions without further debate. Though this is no uſual way of managing buſineſs, the treaty of Warſaw 1717, the peace of Oliva, and that of Moſcow, were all concluded by ſuch commiſſions. Soltyk and others plauſibly declaimed againſt thus entruſting to a few the legiſlative powers of the nation, and giving a foreign court ſuch an influence over their government.

government. There were many private conferences between the primate and some of the deputies; in one of which Soltyk proposed a plan for quieting the Diffidents, on condition the influence of the Russian court was not increased, by admitting them as guarantees. The Prussian deputies insisted, that the commission should only examine matters, and leave their decision to the diet. The King, in a speech, 12th October, took notice, that the diet could not act oppositely to the plan of confederacy, and to the assurances they had given to the Court of Petersburgh. If there was danger in the Marischal's proposal, the nation was to blame for taking steps which necessitated the adopting it. Soltyk replied, that these instructions and resolutions ought all to be repealed, and the Russian ambassador required to produce his commission for ruling in Poland. On the night of 13th October, the Bishops of Krakow and Kiow, and three more, were seized and carried away to Russia. Besides their harsh reflections on the purity of the Czarina's intentions, it was pled, that her Majesty did not ascribe the denial of justice to the blindness of the nation, but to their unhappy form of government, where the exclamations and opposition of one could obstruct the most salutary measures; and therefore it was reasonable to revenge the disturbance of public peace on those obstructors of it, not on the nation. It was not till the end of 1773 that these prisoners were liberated. Warsaw was at this time surrounded by ten thousand Russian forces; and October 14th the Russian ambassador acquainted the King, that his mistress would not in the least recede from her demands; and the Prussian ambassador intimated, that his master, if necessary, would support them with a hundred thousand

ſand men. The terror ſtruck by the fate of the Biſhop of Krakow, and ſpeeches by the Caſtellan Szydlouſki, the prince primate, and the King, at laſt perſuaded the diet to agree to the Mariſchal's propoſal; and ſeventy commiſſioners were appointed, who, with the Ruſſian ambaſſador, ſhould act in name of the republic. This reſolution was reduced to the form of a treaty between Ruſſia and Poland; and the ſubſcribing the treaty began 1ſt December 1767. The Caſtellan Jablonouſki, though a Catholic, made a learned and eloquent ſpeech, 9th November, on the right the Diſſidents had to be reſtored to the ſame ſtate, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical matters, as they enjoyed 1573; as had been ſecured to them by the moſt ſolemn promiſes; and as conſequently could not, without the greateſt iniquity, be taken from them without their own conſent. At the ſame time, an eſſay by Voltaire, under the name of Joſeph Bourdillon, on the diſſenſions of the Poliſh churches, came to Warſaw, in which the ſame truths were enforced by wit and humour which Jablonouſki had ſeriouſly urged. The firſt article relating to the Diſſidents, in the firſt ſection, provided, that the King ſhould be always of the Roman Catholic religion; and that 1ſt January 1717 ſhould be the *annus decretorius* as to controverted claims. The ſecond article reſtrained Catholics from becoming Proteſtant, however much their underſtandings might be convinced. In the ſecond ſection the Diſſidents were allowed to retain, repair, and rebuild their churches, to hold ſynods, to be free from the obſervance of Popiſh feſtivals and proceſſions, and from the juriſdiction of the Popiſh clergy (though they were to pay them tithes), to have printing-preſſes, and, if they married thoſe of a different perſuaſion, to educate thoſe of their

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own ſex. Schools ſhould not be diſturbed. None ſhould be conſtrained to become Popiſh. The Diſſident nobility ſhould be capable of the ſame offices and honours as the Catholic. At the general diet 5th March 1768, the reſolutions and treaties agreed upon by the commiſſioners were ratified, and every one declared enemies to their country who ſhould do any thing againſt them. The Pope's nuncio, in virtue of his ſpecial mandate, proteſted againſt theſe meaſures; and Clement XIII. complained, in a letter to the King, of treaties ſo injurious to the Catholic faith, and ſo dangerous to the kingdom, that the King ſhould have rather ſuffered any thing, than thus allowed the abomination of deſolation to be ſet in the holy place. The King replied, that more had been denied to the Diſſidents than granted; and this treaty was more tolerable than that of Weſtphalia, as it did not permit apoſtaſy from the Catholic faith; and that the blind zeal of ſome againſt the Diſſidents, had ſo ſerved their cauſe, that the conceſſions made them had become neceſſary, for, if refuſed, both church and ſtate would have been ruined. And now the treaty being ratified, and a foundation laid for reſtoring peace in the kingdom, the general confederacy, the Catholic confederacy, and the confederacies of Diſſidents diſſolved themſelves, 5th March, and the Ruſſian troops ſet out on their return. But meſſages were ſoon diſpatched to deſire them to halt, accounts having come to Warſaw, 6th March, of a confederacy at Bar in Podolia, which ſeemed to indicate a rebellion. Through the influence of the Popiſh zealots, and from the court not puſhing the execution of theſe new regulations, the Diſſidents reaped leſs benefit from them than might have been expected. However, in

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April, Posner, a Protestant bookseller, opened his shop at Warsaw; and in June the Protestants in Lithuania held one extraordinary provincial synod, where uniting the two Diffident churches was canvassed. Nothing could be more laudable than measures for their mutual defence. But the rights of private judgment must needs suffer, by attempting to melt into one church, churches whose sentiments in many important points were so opposite.——Among other original papers, Walch has inserted, p. 85—105, a copy of the treaty relating to the Diffidents. Article twenty-first provides, that when congregations erect churches at their own charges, or by the voluntary assistance of others, the right of patronage shall belong to such churches.

From WALCH's *Neueste Religion's Geschichte.* 7 *th.* Lemgo 1779.

I. P. 7—160. With the confederacy of Bar, a new period commences of the Polish history. The chief author of it was Michael Krasinski, bishop of Kaminiek. He hated the King, and wished to raise to the throne Prince Charles of Saxony, who was married to a lady of his family, hoping, if that could be accomplished, to acquire great influence and power. Hence he zealously supported the general confederacy of Rodam; and to please Russia, refused not at that time to enter into the views of that Court in favour of the Diffidents. But finding the Czarina neither disposed to dethrone the King, nor to make him primate, imagining himself injured, he meditated revenge; and for accomplishing it, united himself with the Bishop of Krakow, who was now returned from Russia. Their emissaries spread reports, that the King,

King, by the affiftance of the Diffidents and the Czarina, intended to deftroy their religion and liberties, and to force Catholics and thofe of the Greek church to become Lutherans or Calvinifts; fo that their only fafety was, to fupprefs the Diffidents, and to declare, that the laws and treaty forced upon them by Ruffia, were, on account of that conftraint, null and void. The charge againft their Sovereign was as abfurd as fpiteful. His plan of government was oppofed; and his power, that of a diet, and confequently of the ftate, was limited by the Ruffian guarantee of the right in every member of the diet, by his fingle *veto*, to ftop their proceedings. Though the King was friendly to toleration, he could not wifh, by attempting a change in the eftablifhed religion, to render the greater part of his fubjects difaffected. Indeed, the difhoneft intentions of his Majefty's enemies appeared from their ufing oppofite pretexts with men of oppofite religious and political principles. The Court of Drefden, to whom they petitioned for aid, refufed to intermeddle. On the other hand, the Ruffians, at the defire of the government, fent a confiderable force againft the confederacy, which, with the Crown army, in May and June 1768, after fruitlefs attempts to bring back the confederates to their duty, took Bar fword in hand, and fo preffed on the remainder of the confederates, that the three heads of the party, with about a thoufand, got over the Niefter into Moldavia. Here they found protection and countenance from the Turks and Tartars, and perfuaded the Turkifh Court to break with Ruffia. It is generally believed, that they promifed to fubject Podolia and the Polifh Ukraine to the Turks. At laft they entered into an alliance offenfive and de-

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fenſive, by which the Port was to furniſh 200,000, and the confederates 100,000; and the laſt were to allow Tartars, and all Mahometans the free exerciſe of their religion. The Port, October 1768, declared war againſt Ruſſia, on account of the injuries to Poland, of which they accuſed that Court; and Ruſſia, after vain attempts to bring the Port to a more friendly diſpoſition, publiſhed their declaration of war, 30th November, in which they ſhow, that their meaſures had been directed to the true intereſt of Poland, that they might prevent the fury of certain Catholics from driving the Diſſidents to deſpair, and thus ruining the commonwealth. The Tartars joined the confederates, January 1769; and being obliged, by the approach of the Ruſſians, to evacuate Poland, left behind them the moſt dreadful traces of their cruelty, not only carrying off men, women, and children, but, in ſome places, ſhutting up all they could find, and burning them alive; ſo that both the confederates and Turks found it neceſſary to publiſh their diſapprobation of ſuch barbarity. June 1769, Kraſinſki and Potocki re-entered Poland, accompanied by 20,000 Turks. Eighty thouſand Turks and Tartars ſpread deſolation in other parts of that unhappy kingdom, and carried off numerous captives; the confederates beholding with regret, what they were unable to prevent. Kraſinſki publiſhed a declaration from the camp at Czarogrod, 25th June, promiſing protection to all who ſhould bring them proviſions, and teſtify their friendſhip by wearing a white napkin, and threatening to deſtroy with fire and ſword ſuch as would not ſubmit. The Ruſſian army had in the mean time been much increaſed, by many of the Greek religion from Moldavia, Walachia, and other parts of the Turkiſh empire,

and by deserters from the Turkish army. The King having in vain besieged the castle of Chockzim, was obliged, by want of provisions and ammunition, to repass the Niester, which gave great spirits to the Turks, and encouraged them to treat with insolence and cruelty the Christians and Jews who fell into their hands. They even told Potocki, that the Poles must become Mahometans, if they would expect their effectual aid. On May 20th, the Turks declared war against the Crown of Poland, under pretence that a great part of the Russian army consisted of Poles, and that the Russians and Poles had two years ago formed a confederacy against the Port. But the hopes of the Turks were soon baffled by the success of the Russians. Having repassed the Niester, they defeated the Turkish army, 13th July, and again 9th September. The Turks evacuated Chockzim 19th September, and retired to Bender; so that, October, the Russians made themselves masters of Moldavia, and received from the people their oath of allegiance, to which the Christian subjects of the Port the more willingly submitted, as in this way they secured the free exercise of the Greek religion; an advantage which Russia enjoys above all other powers at war with the Turks; whereas, when the Greek Christians had promoted the success of Venice or Austria, in their attacks on the Morea, notwithstanding the tolerant disposition of the administration at Venice, the bigotry of the Catholic clergy laid greater restraints on their religious liberty than the Turks had done; nay, even endeavoured to undermine it, by arts which the wisdom of government could not always defeat; so that afterwards they have either been neuter, or assisted the Turks for recovering their lost dominions. To confirm these good intentions of

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the Greek Chriſtians towards them, the Ruſſians fitted out a fleet to ſail through the Mediterranean ſea to the Archipelago. Alarmed at this, the Port not only diſarmed the Chriſtians in theſe parts, but even on groundleſs ſuſpicions put many of them to death, of whoſe innocence they were afterwards fully convinced. The Sultan however, ſoon perceiving that gentler meaſures were neceſſary for ſecuring the allegiance of the Greek and Armenian Chriſtians, leſſened their taxes, and ſeverely puniſhed ſome who had injured their churches and clergy at Conſtantinople. This however did not hinder the Montenigrines, who had revolted and been ſubdued 1767, to ſubmit to Ruſſia, Auguſt 1769, as ſoon as two Ruſſian frigates with officers and ſoldiers had landed among them. This and other ſucceſſes of the Ruſſians, embittered the Turks at the Bar confederates, whom they upbraided as the authors of all their misfortunes; and they carried about with them as priſoners, Kraſinſki and Potocki. Thus ended the confederacy of Bar; from which aroſe many other confederacies, wherewith Poland was rent for four years. Theſe, and even the general confederacy about a year and a half after, all took the confederacy of Bar for their model. Though the ſuppreſſing the Diſſidents was much talked of, to gain the more rigid Catholics; yet the dethroning the King with many, and the leſſening the Ruſſian influence in Poland with all, were the chief objects.

It is not for my purpoſe to give the hiſtory of leſſer confederacies, ſome of which continued only a few days. The Ruſſians were the only foreign power in arms againſt them, and from them they dreaded the leſs, as their beſt troops were employed againſt the Turks. They believed, or

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pretended to believe, that the King of Prussia was not averse to their measures; and the refuge some of them found in his dominions, and the powder and lead sold them by his subjects, gave them a pretext for this, even after his declaration, 9th July 1768, disapproving and condemning their conduct. This they affected to consider as only a compliment to the Czarina, meant to do them no harm; so that it had no influence in dissolving old confederacies, or in preventing new ones. From these confederacies, however, the Dissidents suffered much in their persons, goods, and churches, not so much from the enmity of the heads of the confederacies, as from the bigotted zeal, or love to plunder, by which too many of their followers were animated. An evangelical church at Lobsenz, which had been lately granted to the Dissidents by a tribunal of justice, was burnt to ashes, 1768; and four years after, when the King of Prussia got possession of that town, it appeared that two Catholic noblemen had been instigated by blind zeal to that crime, one of whom, to escape deserved punishment, had offered to rebuild the church. In the streets of cities, and in roads in the country, many Dissidents were murdered. In Little Poland, Wolk, a Dissident nobleman, was murdered. At Zuchlin, in Great Poland, Majewski, an aged reformed minister, was with burning rods cruelly scourged to death. Rowitsch, a trading town in the borders, chiefly inhabited by Germans, was burnt to ashes. In Zirke, a small town on the Warta, even innocent children were cut in pieces; and in the neighbourhood, seventy Dutch and German peasants plundered and put to death. Friedland paid five hundred ducats to preserve an evangelical church; and for a like purpose, three thousand ducats were

were demanded from Conitz, when happily a party of Pruſſian huſſars relieved them, and put an end to theſe acts of violence and cruelty. But the worſt of the confederacies was that at Goſtyn, under Dzierzanowſki, a poor nobleman, who, as many others, repaid the generous unſuſpecting kindneſs of the King with the baſeſt ingratitude. He publiſhed a manifeſto, full of virulent and unjuſt aſperſions againſt his Sovereign, and recommending the utter deſtruction of the Diſſidents as the only mean of general peace.

Equally hard was the fate of the Diſſidents, 1769. In the boundaries of Newmark, the Diſſident nobility and people were deprived of their arms and horſes; and enormous contributions were exacted, under pain of loſing all their goods. In Straſburgh, the magiſtrates were obliged in twelve hours to furniſh 2000 rixdollars. Malczewſki obliged the evangelical inhabitants of Schwerin in Great Poland, to pay 1400 ducats, and hanged eight of them. The moderate and humane Swazinſki, head of the Lenczytsch confederacy, endeavoured to protect the Diſſidents at Peterkau, whom he had taken priſoners after a brave reſiſtance. He ſent them away with an eſcort; but, by his unruly ſoldiers, many of them were plundered, abuſed, and left half naked. Lieſſen, miniſter at Schoneck, was tortured and robbed. At Johanniſberg or Schoden in Lithuania, a fire broke out, 6th April, in an evangelical ſchool-houſe, which had been ſhut up for five weeks, and, in leſs than three hours and a half, conſumed the dwelling houſe of Dillewſki the Lutheran miniſter, and eighteen other houſes. In Little Poland and Sendomir, whatever could not be carried away was deſtroyed, and the people were declared free from their Diſſident lords.

If a German fell into their hands, he was obliged either to renounce his faith, or to die. These cruelties were however abhorred by other confederates. Bierzynski was so enraged at them, that the plundering banditti, for fear of him, fled to the woods. But they could not escape. Gralkowski was broken on the wheel, and many of his accomplices hanged. When Marawski took Posen, every thing was done in his power to protect the Dissidents from injustice and oppression. But he could not prevent their receiving many injuries from his people. The library of the minister at Grembackzin, in the neighbourhood of Thorn, was destroyed, and his house plundered; and the church at Leibitsch shared the same fate. A bold sally from Thorn of the Russian garrison and many of the inhabitants, delivered the neighbouring country, and put to flight their spoilers. In these unhappy times, even the property of German Catholics, or of Catholics well affected to the King, was not secure. The confederates accounted all enemies, who did not join them, and without scruple plundered or laid them under contribution. However, that religion might seem the chief motive of their confederacies, they did no violence to the persons of such Catholics, but only applied their substance to the support of their cause. But, whatever was the wish of the heads of the confederates, the persons of the Dissidents sustained every injury from the blind zeal of their followers, which political reasons prevented them from altogether restraining. By August 1769, there was hardly a Dissident nobleman, whose goods had not been destroyed, and his house levelled to the ground. No more Dissident ministers or schoolmasters were to be seen; churches and schools were plundered, defiled, destroyed.

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carcases were dug out of their graves, and stripped of their burial clothes, and the bones scattered. Many were forced to abjure their faith. Yet all this, in a manifesto at Krackow, Oct. 1769, they had the impudence to deny, though even that manifesto contained undesigned evidence of their guilt. The Dissidents, therefore, were glad to fly from their cities and villages with what little they could carry along with them, to Silesia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia and Courland. Trade and commerce ceased. Every letter was opened. No traveller was safe. The country was laid waste and depopulated. Of the little provision in it, much was deliberately destroyed. For want of horses and cattle, in many places, the land remained unploughed. The calamities of war and famine were increased by heaps of wolves attacking and eating the inhabitants in one part of the country, and bands of gypsies plundering and destroying them in another. Every where the Russians prevailed against these confederacies; and no wonder. They were almost without infantry and artillery, ill instructed in the art of war, under no military discipline, submitting to their own leaders no farther than they chose, and often seeking to destroy the influence and reputation of the leaders of other confederacies; so that they seldom united their efforts, and sometimes were at open war. Lubermirski was in every respect the ablest and bravest officer in the service of the confederacies. But Branicki and others were not wise enough to adopt his counsels, in consequence of which the Russians soon made themselves master of Krackow. In the years 1768 & 1769, such was the success of the Russians, though their enemies were often superior in number, that of them there were only 231 killed,

killed, 39 lost, and 368 wounded; whereas of the confederates, 6836 were killed, and 1424 made prisoners. It was impossible however for the Russians to be every where; and where they were not, their friends had every thing to fear, if they did not defend themselves. This was attempted in the Ukraine. Most of the inhabitants are of the Greek church; and though poorly instructed, warmly attached to their religion; and, by the harsh treatment they suffered from their Catholic lords, filled with abhorrence of Popery. These farmed their estates to the Jews, who exacted with cruel usury from the wretched peasants, what they pay to the proprietors. In this situation, the troops of the confederacy of Bar exacted an oath from them to become Catholics. The confederates had no occasion for this measure to keep them in awe, the household troops of their lords, and the artillery planted on their castles, being sufficient for that purpose, and their lords having joined the confederacy. But this new injury awakened the remembrance of former ones; and, to secure their lives and religion, revenge the injuries they had suffered, and free themselves from a yoke now become intolerable, they take up arms. A band of Cossacks and Haydomacks, addicted to the Greek church, and united together for plunder, availed themselves of those circumstances. They viewed the despair and the defenceless condition of their brethren in the Ukraine, as a happy opportunity of plunder. They forged a manifesto from the Czarina, dated 20th June 1768, calling upon the oppressed peasants, to destroy all the Jews, the Catholic priests and nobility in Poland, as murderers, traitors, oppressors of the innocent, and despisers and blasphemers of our holy faith: and now the hatred

hatred of the Greeks against Catholics and Jews, which had been long suppressed, thus inflamed, breaks forth into an unextinguishable and consuming fire. The imagined will of the Empress banished every scruple, of attempting to extirpate a race, whom they viewed as unworthy to live. The insurrection became general. Nobles, clergy, commons, men, women, children, all who fell in their way, whether Catholics or Jews, were destroyed. A tract of land, extending about forty miles, was laid waste, houses and goods plundered or burnt, and eleven thousand men slain. The confederates at Bar sent some troops against them, but they were not able to stop the evil. At length, after the taking of Bar, the Crown army and the Russians marched against the insurgents. A manifesto of the Russians, promising the secure exercise of their religion, and the redress of any grievances which they should properly authenticate, led many of them to lay down their arms. Others, from fear of the consequences, removed to Tartary; and the rest, in different skirmishes, were defeated, scattered, or made prisoners. Some hundreds of them were hanged, of whom some were so sunk in stupidity, ignorance and insensibility, that they seemed to meet death with the utmost thoughtlessness and indifference. By a Russian manifesto 20th July, the guilt of this insurrection was charged upon the plundering Cossacks, who, by the forged manifesto, had imposed upon the peasants; and the Czarina declared, that she considered those as thieves and robbers, who deceived the peaceable of other communions, and, when in her power, would deliver them up to punishment; but they who had been deceived, or prompted by resentment to join them, might be assured of pardon, if they returned to their

their duty. She further promised, that the Greeks should ever be protected by her in the exercise of their religion. In August, murders and robberies began again in the districts of Pawolocz, Bialapol and Filipawn. In four cities, 1579 were put to death. Before however they could unite in one body, their separate parties were attacked and defeated by the Russian Lieutenant-Colonel Messerski.——9th December, five hundred profligates attacked Lisunska, which, after defending itself till the 12th, surrendered, on condition of preserving their lives and liberty. But notwithstanding this promise, they were put to the sword; and of a thousand, only three escaped the fury of these monsters. With the same shocking cruelty, Smila and Boguslaw were depopulated and reduced to ashes. In some places, they were repulsed with loss. On 19th February 1769, they were defeated after a fierce engagement, and all the prisoners were put to death. The Bar confederates, when in the Ukraine, took a most barbarous revenge, dragging even women and children to slavery, and shutting up and burning in their own houses the old men, whom they could not carry along with them; and so embittered were they, that they made little inquiry, if the places and persons against which they raged, had deserved such barbarous treatment, so that many of the nobles on their own side greatly suffered, and especially many farmers, both of the Greek church and Catholics. The last, for their security, professed themselves of the Greek church, and joined with the others in a confederacy for their mutual defence in conjunction with the Russians, and for revenging the innocent blood shed by their enemies. These disturbances were profitable to the Czarina, by leading many to emigrate from Po-

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land to thoſe parts of her dominions, which had been much depopulated by the Turkiſh war.

By this time, however, the confederates in Poland were become ſo ſtrong, that the Czarina, ſufficiently employed in the war with the Turks, found it impoſſible to ſuppreſs them. The court of Vienna viewed with a jealous eye the influence of the Czarina in Poland, and ſhowed many marks of favour to the heads of the confederacies; and though the court of Saxony had refuſed an audience to their ambaſſadors, and promiſed the king of Poland to give them no ſupport, yet they ſecretly correſponded with them about raiſing a prince of their family to the throne of Poland, and even by Vienna merchants tranſmitted monthly to the confederates 30,000 livres. A monthly ſubſidy was ſaid to be granted them for the ſame purpoſe by the court of France, of 60,000 livres. Choiſeul indeed contradicted this at the court of Poland. Yet, June 1769, he had a ſecret agent with the confederates, and encouraged French officers to ſerve in their army, by aſſuring them, that it would be conſidered and rewarded in the ſame manner as if they had ſerved their natural prince. The confederates even derived advantage from the ſentiments and conduct of the king of Poland. Though grateful to Ruſſia, and compaſſionate to the Diſſidents, love to his ſubjects, and ſtate policy, united to give him pain at ſeeing his kingdom depopulated and impoveriſhed. As King, he could not be diſpleaſed, that, without any exertion on his part, the power and influence of Ruſſia in Poland ſhould be diminiſhed by the general averſion of his ſubjects; and as a Catholic, he wiſhed ſome alteration of the laſt treaty. Conſcious of unfeigned affection to his ſubjects, he charitably aſcribed expreſſions in the

the manifesto of the confederates, which discovered deadly hatred to him, as only the overflowings of honest zeal for religion, civil liberty, and independence of the state on foreign influence, accompanied with causeless jealousies of him, as wishing to deprive them of those invaluable treasures. The greater part of their adherents, he candidly viewed as blinded men, who merited compassion rather than hatred, and who wished not to dethrone him, but to constrain him to measures which they deemed for the public good. Though, however, he approved some of the views of the Dissidents, and excused others, he grieved to see his subjects involved in the calamities of civil and foreign war, especially against the Czarina, to whom he had been so greatly indebted. He therefore wished, not to destroy the confederates, but to persuade them to desist from unreasonable demands, and to prosecute their laudable aims by gentler methods. When the mild plan of negotiation with the Bar confederates did not succeed, and he was obliged to arm against them, it was his care to spare as much as possible the blood of his subjects, and he dismissed both nobles and commons, whom the Crown forces had made prisoners, on their engaging to behave peaceably for the future. The Russians, however, taught by abundant experience, that most who come under such engagements, when set free, soon take up arms again, did not liberate their prisoners, without sufficient security. The King's gentleness made him suspected by them, and they were still more displeased at his application to the courts which had guarantied the late treaty, for an alteration of some articles in it generally disagreeable to the Poles, and for prevailing with the Russians to evacuate Poland. The King of Poland's

land's hopes were disappointed; and his moderation, instead of reclaiming, encouraged the disaffected. In September, a general confederacy was formed, of which Kransinski was elected Marischal, and Potocki commander of the army. This confederacy soon assumed the power of sending embassadors to foreign states. A like general confederacy was formed soon after in Lithuania: and both confederacies united 6th November 1769.

This general confederacy, however, proved less powerful and formidable, than was apprehended. Union and subordination were still wanted. Many of the heads of the confederacy, were dissatisfied with the measures adopted. Dzierzanouski at Krakow with 5000 men, and Bierzynski in the suburbs with 3500, seemed at open war one with another. For want of proper regulations, sufficient store of provisions, forage and ammunition, could not be procured or retained. Many of the troops dispersed. The heads of the party in a few days evacuated Krakow, and their enemies soon made themselves masters of it. Yet, in this crisis, they were imprudent enough to offend the court of Vienna, by attempting to raise troops and levy contributions in the county of Zips, which was partly under the Polish, partly under the Austrian jurisdiction, and even by firing on the Austrian troops who attempted to hinder them, and killing twelve of them. It was even thought, that in the conference at Niess, 25th August, between the Emperor and the king of Prussia, the plan was laid for the partition of Poland. The consequences of this new friendship soon appeared, in an answer of the king of Prussia to one of the heads of the confederacy. He observed, that the destruction they spread wherever they marched, obliged him to take mea-

fures for defending his dominions, if they ſhould be attacked; that they abſurdly pled the re-eſtabliſhment of religion and liberty for taking up arms, as neither had been impaired, either by the King whom they had unanimouſly elected, or by the late treaty; that the privileges of which the Diſſidents had been deprived, had been reſtored by a general Diet, not by the King alone; that by the conſtitution complained of, Popery ſtill remains the eſtabliſhed religion, Diſſidents are allowed to become Catholics, and Catholics cannot change their religion, without forfeiting their liberties; that in this ſituation Catholics are in no danger of ſuffering ſuch injuſtice and cruelty from the Diſſidents, as the Diſſidents have repeatedly ſuffered from them; that the Diſſidents never attempted to ſhut up their churches, break their images, or compel them to renounce their faith. Not long after, an Auſtrian edict, forbidding the confederates to remain in their frontiers; their many unſucceſsful engagements with the Ruſſians 1770; the bitter enmity and fierce contention of their leaders, who mutually declared one another enemies and betrayers of their country; the coldneſs to them which appeared in the courts of Verſailles, Conſtantinople and Dreſden; and the diſorders they committed, which could not but offend every one who had the leaſt ſpark of honour and humanity: all theſe conſiderations, influenced many of their adherents to forſake their cauſe, and reconcile themſelves to the King. At this time, the Ruſſians adviſed an oppoſite confederacy, with the King at the head of it. But, though the diſaffected had ſeized his revenues wherever they could, baſely traduced his character, and declared that he had forfeited the crown: yet, from a generous, benevolent, and forgiving ſpirit, he would

would not consent to a measure, which would arm one part of Poland against another, though, in Great Poland, this was generally wished, on account of the oppressions they had suffered from the disaffected. The French court now recommended it to the general confederacy, to reconcile themselves to the King, as the only mean of procuring a change of what offended them in the treaty with Russia. The Pope, on the other hand, thanked the King in a letter, December 1769, for his efforts for altering what was hurtful to religion in the proceedings of the late diet, and injoined his nuncio in Poland, to exhort the Bishops to remember their duty to their Prince, as well as to religion. But neither his holiness's admonitions, nor the presence of the Russians, could prevent murderous designs against his Majesty. May 11th 1769, a furnace in the chamber of the palace, suddenly rent with a great noise; and though it was published, that this was owing to natural causes, it was strongly suspected that a train had been laid by one of the King's valets de chambre, who, conscious of guilt, fled for safety, but was afterwards found and taken in an Augustine monastery. A declaration from Warsaw, that no attempt had been hitherto made against the King's life, was ascribed to that policy, which often requires contradicting facts, of which there is yet sufficient evidence. The imprisoning Barowski, May 1770, was probably owing to proofs of such a design, though afterwards no more was heard of that matter, prudence having led to conceal it. But though this, and the design of blowing up the palace in September should be doubted, there were other plain and uncontestible proofs of their hatred to the King. They published manifestoes, in which they warned the

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public, that his seeming desire of altering what was offensive in the late treaty, was only designed to break the confederacy, that thus he might have it in his power to do the very reverse of what he professed. A manifesto of the general confederacy, November 1769, and Dzierzanouski's letter to them, March 1770, evidently show the intention of dethroning the King. In the end of April, Bierzynski with his corps submitted to Drewitz; and he published an acknowledgment, that he was now sensible, dissolving the sacred obligations of subjects to their Princes, and not religion or liberty, was the aim of the confederates. In August, some even dared at Oswiecim and other places, to insert in the public records notifications of an *interregnum*. The confederates did the Russians and Dissidents the honour of ranking them in the same class with the King and his friends. They even represented the Primate and the Catholic Bishops of Posnonia and Ploczk, as worthy of detestation, because they recommended loyalty to their Sovereign. They threatened in their manifestoes never to desist, till they had gained their end in the destruction of all their enemies, and were not ashamed to declare that they would use secret means for this end, yea, to recommend the Sicilian vespers. Intimation was given, that even the infants of the Dissidents and their defenders should be put to death. Every cruelty was exercised against the churches, houses, property and persons of the Dissidents. Their corn was threshed out and sold, and not enough left for seed. Woods were cut down and sold. Metiki, a Dissident, who was removing some things he had left at Osiek, was killed on the spot. The confederates at Sendomir and Lublin, made a law, to kill and plunder every Dissident. In

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the district of Wissiez, they spoiled and set fire to the house of Rosseki, a Dissident captain, though two noble widows lay sick there, of whom the one perished in the flames, and the other was so burnt, that she died soon after. In another place, the ladies of Major Olof and Captain Gordon, were beaten with rods thrice a day to convert them to Popery. Many were drowned in the Weichsel. In July this year, the plague appeared in Podolia, Volhinia, &c., and so raged in August and September, that scarce any recovered. The Russian, Austrian and Prussian troops, blocked up the different frontiers of Poland, that the infection might not spread to other kingdoms. It is computed that one hundred and fifty thousand, chiefly poor people, died of this pestilence. When every thing thus threatened the ruin of Poland, hope of deliverance appeared from a quarter, from which it could hardly have been expected. The courts of Versailles and Vienna wished to diminish the influence of the court of Petersburg in the affairs of Poland, and on that account favoured the confederates. But they were now wearied with supporting them, as they observed that their unjust behaviour to the King and to the Dissidents, obliged both to connect themselves with Russia, and to wish the stay of the Russian troops in Poland. Many of the confederates began to see things in the same light, and to adopt the sentiments written by Stadzinski, one of their number, to his brother: "What avail all our efforts, when they are not suited to "put an end to the present calamities? What "profit skirmishes, marches, attacks, contributions, and destroying the property of nobles "and commons, unless to excite the sufferers to "involve us in like ruin? Must not foreign

 "states,

" ſtates, however favourably diſpoſed, leave us
" to our fate? For how can they help us?
" Should they lend money to one leader, another
" would wreſt it out of his hands. Or, ſhould
" they ſend ſoldiers, there is no general to whoſe
" conduct they can be properly entruſted. The
" only cauſe of the confederacy, which could af-
" fect France or Auſtria, was, a foreign ſtate in-
" termeddling with their government; for neither
" of them approved the dangerous precedent of
" dethroning a King, or apprehended any hazard
" to the eſtabliſhed religion from the late privi-
" leges granted to the Diſſidents, though, as good
" Catholics, they might have wiſhed them leſs."
Many of the more ſenſible confederates began to perceive, that neither religion nor liberty were the objects of ſeveral of their heads, and that they would readily, as to both theſe, yield to the Ruſſians and Diſſidents more than was aſked, could they procure their aid to dethrone the King, or to procure from him the gratification of their inſatiable avarice. They now repented their having aſſociated with ſuch men, and began to conſider if the good ends they had in view, could be accompliſhed by means more juſt and unexceptionable. Beſides, they ſaw that the confederacies, through their imprudent meaſures, diviſions, and want of ſubordination, inſtead of diminiſhing, increaſed the public diſtreſs. The powers moſt favourable began to view them as uſeleſs and burdenſome allies. On the other hand, the Ruſſians became ſenſible, that many of the Poles were diſaffected to them, on account of the harſh imperious conduct of Prince Repnin; that their exertions for the Diſſidents were improved by the confederates for gaining many to their party; and that the king of Poland was unwilling to expoſe himſelf

himself to the hatred of the greatest part of his subjects, of the Pope, of the Roman Catholic clergy, and other princes of that religion, by supporting measures to which he had always been averse, though, through the influence of the court of Petersburg, he had consented to them. He was now convinced of those deadly designs against him, which his own goodness of heart, and affection for his subjects, had hitherto prevented him from believing. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin signified to him their desire to take common measures in concert for defeating those designs. There were frequent meetings in the Primates as to the means of establishing tranquillity; and both courts declared their willingness to leave the Poles to themselves as to other matters; to consent to any change, as to the rights of the Dissidents, which they and the Catholics in a friendly conference should judge expedient; that the court of Vienna might join them in guarantying what should be resolved; and that the confederates might have passports for attending the meeting at Warsaw for deliberating proper measures.

But these hopes soon vanished. Deputies from the Dissidents arrived at Warsaw 21st June 1771; but the conferences were broken off, the confederates not coming to them, and the heads of the patriots being unsatisfied with the measures proposed by the Russians. On this account, the Russian Embassador thought himself entitled to publish a sharp manifesto, 26th June, complaining that the generous and disinterested endeavours of his mistress had so little effect on even the wiser part of the nation, that they contented themselves to complain of disorders, without any proper efforts for redressing them. Street robbers, under

der pretence of taking up arms to guard against imaginary dangers, were safe even in the capital; and posts and carriers to and from it, were in the utmost hazard of being murdered and robbed. The Russian troops were ordered to clear Warsaw, and the country for two miles round, of these miscreants, and to treat such of them as fell into their hands, not as prisoners of war, but as the vilest malefactors. Zorimba and Palowski replied, That they submitted it to the unprejudiced, whether the defenders of religion and liberty, or they who without right took possession of a country, deserved the name of thieves and robbers; and declared, that if the threatenings against them were executed, they would make reprisals, especially on the Russian officers. And now the confederates became more formidable. Their numbers increased, through dislike of the continuance of the Russians in Poland, and the oppressive conduct of some of their officers and soldiers; and they began to learn the art of war and subjection from the French officers among them. But, this notwithstanding, the wiser among them were convinced, that hopes of gaining their end became every day more and more distant. The differences of their heads were such, that France threatened to withdraw her subsidies, unless they managed with greater union and order: and money became daily scarcer, especially as the King sent troops in May to protect the salt-works, from which they had drawn, every quarter of a year, forty thousand ducats. They therefore found themselves constrained to dissemble, and to declare, at Paris and other courts, that by intimating an *interregnum*, they only meant to terrify the King, and separate him from Russia; but were far from any real intention of dethroning him. Notwithstanding this, they

secretly

ſecretly perſiſted in their treaſonable deſigns, and ſcrupled not the baſeſt and cruelleſt plans for accompliſhing them. Many of the clergy, from the pulpit, or in private, inſinuated, that the death of the King was abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring religion and liberty, and that killing him would be a deed truly meritorious. In the monaſtery of Czenstuchow, which the King had intreated the Ruſſians to ſpare, three ſuperſtitious people were perſuaded by the clergy to take the following oath: " We, animated by a pious and holy zeal, " have formed a firm immoveable reſolution, to " avenge God, religion and our country, which " have been injured by that tyrant Staniſlaus Au- " guſtus, a deſpiſer of all laws human and divine, " an unjuſt poſſeſſor of the throne of Poland, a " friend of atheiſts and heretics, a betrayer and " oppreſſor of his country, and a mean tool of " foreign avarice and injuſtice: And we ſwear " before the holy and wonder-working image of " the mother of God, that we will ſacrifice our " fortune, our lives, and our families, for root- " ing him out of the land of the living, which " he diſhonours and pollutes, by trampling under " feet reverence to God, religion, and the privi- " leges of the nation. So help us God." They pitched on thirty-ſeven aſſiſtants for carrying on their deſign, and were concealed and maintained in a Dominican cloiſter at Warſaw. Every one knows that the ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the King, or carrying him to Palowſki, in the night betwixt the 3d and 4th November 1771, was ſo well laid, that had not providence interpoſed a chain of hinderances next to miraculous, it muſt have ſucceeded. Firſt, two Lutheran Heyducks, of whom the one was mortally wounded, defended the King from being dragged out of his coach. Two large bullets

bullets pierced the right ſide of the King's fur coat through and through, and lumps of cut lead ſtuck in the ſide of it above the thigh. Yet the King was not in the leaſt hurt, but jumped out of the coach to eſcape the aſſaſſins. Though they found him, and, when they had ſeized him, ſtruck him with their ſcimitars, yet not one ball hit his body, though one paſſed ſo near the crown of his head, that the King felt the heat of the ſhot, and the hair of his head was hurt by it; and his fur coat received all the cuts of the ſcimitars, ſo that they only occaſioned ſome parts of his body becoming duſky; one only excepted, which pierced three inches in his head, and hurt a bone. In this ſituation, nothing preſerved the King's life, but the fear of the conſpirators, that if the King was found murdered, they would be the more ſpeedily purſued and overtaken. They therefore hurried him along with them in the darkneſs of the night, holding at every ſide of his head loaded piſtols, the thruſts he received from which, hurt and diſcoloured his face. At length, they loſt their way in a wood, came near a Ruſſian poſt, and heard ſuch cries and noiſe of people who ſeemed purſuing them, that all diſperſed, except the leaders, who had taken the dreadful oath at Czenstuchow, and remained with the King. Even two of theſe went off a little, at the deſire of Koſinſki the third, to find out in what path they might proceed with the greateſt ſafety. Koſinſki, now alone, began to reflect what he was about, and broke out into theſe words: "Yet "this is my King."—To which the King replied, "And a good king too, who has done nothing to "hurt thee, or any other." At this, Koſinſki was ſtill more affected; but would not let the King go, urging that Palowſki had made him ſwear by the

the holy virgin, that, if he could not deliver him to him alive, he would put him to death. On this, the King asked him, "Who then is greater, "God or the holy virgin?" Kosinski replied, "Undoubtedly God." "Well," says the King, "God "has commanded thee to murder no man, and, "least of all, thy prince, the Lord's anointed." This, and what the King added in proof of it, so enlightened the darkened mind of Kosinski, that, at the instant when the King dreaded immediate death, he fell at his feet, and broke out into these words: "Most gracious Sovereign, "your life is in my hands; but give me mine, "and I will give you your's."—Scarce had the King promised this, than his whole soul was so changed, that when the King asked him to let him go, and see to his own safety, he insisted that he would not leave his Sovereign in such dangerous circumstances, whatever it might cost him. He therefore carried the King on his back to the nearest mill. There he was received as a nobleman that had been attacked by robbers; and, after sending a billet to Major-General Cocceius, for forty men to conduct him thence, the King laid himself for sleep, Kosinski standing sentry at the door with a drawn sabre. One of the King's first cares was, to testify his gratitude to those whom God had employed as the instruments of his deliverance. He caused erect a marble monument to Geo. Henry Butzow, a native of Prussia, who had lost his life in defending him; and settled a handsome annuity on his mother. He purchased the property of a mill for Konadh the miller, and his posterity. He secured the life of the now loyal Kosinski, and presented him with his purse. Butzow, Konadh, and Cocceius, were Dissidents, and Kosinski a Catholic. The joy in Poland for the King's

King's wonderful deliverance, ſeemed univerſal. Every one was forward to teſtify his abhorrence of the intended murder. The heads of the confederates profeſſed their innocence. Even Palowſki pronounced it a black and ſhameful attempt, and declared that he had no knowledge of it. The courts of Paris and Vienna ſent congratulatory letters to the King. France withdrew her ſubſidies from the confederates; and the court of Vienna notified to them, that ſhe would withdraw from them every inſtance of her favour and protection, unleſs they publicly diſavowed the manifeſtoes in which the Poles had been invited to the late aſſaſſination plot, and even publiſhed counter manifeſtoes, containing ſuch facts and reaſonings as might for ever baniſh the thoughts of repeating ſo helliſh an attempt. This obliged the commiſſion of the general confederacy to publiſh a manifeſto, 4th December. They excuſed its late appearance, by alleging, that ſeveral circumſtances in the account of the intended aſſaſſination, appeared to them ſo inconſiſtent and improbable, that they had not till now been convinced of its truth. They acknowledged that, in a manifeſto from the camp at Konieczna, 9th Auguſt 1770, they had declared Staniſlaus Poniatowſki an uſurper, and bound themſelves, and enjoined others, from regard to the public welfare, to oppoſe him and his adherents to the utmoſt, without regarding their lives: But they only meant that in battle they would exert themſelves to deſtroy every perſon, of whatever rank, who appeared in arms againſt his country; not to approve of ſecret and treacherous methods for getting rid of their enemies. They appealed to the omniſcient God, that they had neither commanded, aſſented to, or approved the deſigned aſſaſſination.

tion. Yet, as the meaning of the manifesto 9th August had been mistaken, and might encourage some to what was criminal, they therefore repealed and abrogated that clause of it. These forced apologies could not however conceal who had been the secret fomentors of the plot; and facts now convinced the King, that what he had been long told of the designs of the confederates, was too well founded. The attacks made on different coaches in the night-time, excited new alarms; and it was found necessary to guard the palace walls, and to be more than usually attentive to the patroles and the piquets. Though *te Deum* was almost universally sung for the King's deliverance, it was well known that the joy of many was far from sincere. Konarski a learned Piarist, and Narrussewicz a Jesuit, in Polish odes, confuted the opinion of the Catholic religion favouring such shocking crimes. I shall translate a passage or two from the last. "Maintain thy liberty; maintain "the faith transmitted to thee from thy fathers. "But, doth thy liberty, doth thy faith depend "on an accursed band murdering their prince? "Doth faith teach the most enormous wicked-"ness, and command, under the vail of religion, "to slay the Lord's anointed? Are, O God, thy "sacred dwellings intended, that there thy name "should be invoked, and thy mysteries abused, "to strengthen the abominable design of killing "thee in thy deputy? O mouth of slander, do "not thus dishonour thy mother the church! "God calls thee, in a thousand passages of the "sacred oracles, to abstain from such wicked-"ness; and if thou hearest not those warnings, "or despisest them, at least tremble at the voice "of nature."—Konarski's ode represents, in a striking manner, the divine power suddenly soften-

ing a ſavage heart, transforming a black raven into a white ſwan, a reſolved aſſaſſin into a faithful ſubject. Mlodziejowſki, Biſhop of Poſnonia and Warſaw, publiſhed a long and elaborate paſtoral letter, and appointed it to be read in all the churches of his dioceſe, arguing from Scripture and reaſon, the unlawfulneſs of rebelling againſt, and aſſaſſinating princes, eſpecially ſo good a prince, and ſuch a lover of his ſubjects, as the King of Poland. This letter had a moſt rapid ſale, and was much admired.—But the Pope ſeems to have thought leſs favourably of the King than the good Biſhop: For though, in a congratulatory letter, 24th December, he expreſſes the concern he felt for the danger to which he had been expoſed, the joy which after accounts of his ſafety gave him, and his prayers for his future proſperity; there is not one word which expreſsly condemns the traitors; and there is the deepeſt ſilence as to their horrible oath. Nay, he inſinuateth his apprehenſions that the King had brought on himſelf the danger, by lukewarmneſs, and neglect of his duty in ſupporting the Catholic religion; and expreſsly mentions his obligations to improve his wonderful providential deliverance, for promoting the honour of God, and the proſperity of the Catholic religion, and reſtoring piety to its former luſtre; that none exceeding him in care for religion, and the laws of his country, enemies might have no pretext to take up arms againſt him for defending either. From this letter it too plainly appears, that the moſt neceſſary and equitable indulgence ſhown to heretics, are by the court of Rome accounted highly criminal*. The old intolerant ſentiments are retained,

* Let it be obſerved, that Clement XIV., or Ganganelli, was then Pope. The London Chronicle, 3d and 16th December, obſerves, that

tained, though the change of the times constrain the disguising them.

In all probability, this attempt on the King's life hastened the ruin of the confederates. Their real designs were now apparent; and other Courts saw it their interest to support the rights of a lawful prince against his rebellious subjects. The confederacy however published a declaration, that all the nobility were enemies of their country, who should not without delay sign the confederacy. Zorembo, whom they appointed General-Marischal of Great Poland, ventured to attack some Prussian troops there. But the accounts, that the Court of Vienna was disposed to receive an ambassador from the King of Poland, and that the Ottoman Port, having suffered so much in the war with Russia, was now glad by considerable sacrifices to purchase peace, were a stunning thunderbolt to the confederates. The Turks, desirous in the first place to free themselves from all concern with the affairs of Poland, sent back to their own country Krasinski and Potocki, the first promoters of the confederacy. They, on their return, found the affairs of the confederacy almost desperate. February 1772, Austria, Russia and Prussia agreed to annex to their respective dominions certain parts of Poland, and to annul the confederacy. In March, the Court of Vienna demanded from the confederates the annulling the *interregnum*, and discharged all their subjects to give them any farther assistance. But though their destruction seemed unavoidable, from the troops of these three combined powers in Poland daily increasing, and though Potocki's sister on her

that those in prison for attempting to kill the King, consoled themselves with having received a formal absolution, before attempting that crime.

deathbed set before him in a most affecting manner the criminal pursuits in which he was engaged, and the ruin he was bringing on himself and his country by his immoderate ambition, yet he remained inflexible, and even reconciled himself to Krasinski, who by public libels had greatly injured him, that the interest of the confederacy might not suffer by the continuance of their breach. But neither this, nor their making themselves masters, in the night of 1st February, by the help of a French officer, of the castle of Krakow, could retrieve their affairs; for they were blocked up in that castle by the Russians, ere they had time to lay up provisions and ammunition sufficient for holding out a long siege; and though the confederates had marched several corps to their assistance, the Russians freed them from part of the fatigue of their march, by attacking and defeating them ere they got to Krakow. The scarcity of provisions soon occasioned mutinies among the besieged Poles; and though the brave Choisy suppressed them, by putting to death some of their officers, yet no relief appearing, he found himself obliged, 24th April, to surrender the castle. Soon after, all the French officers left them; and the Court of Paris signified, as they could no longer transmit money to them by way of Vienna, it was their interest to subject themselves to their King, and agree to peace. And now the Court of Vienna began to show themselves as hostile to them as the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin. They disarmed them, and obliged them to evacuate the Austrian dominions, and prohibited their troops in Poland from holding any correspondence with them, or furnishing them with any thing, either freely or for money. They disbanded their troops, incorporated the best of them

them with their own army, and suffered the rest to return home. Such of them as fell into the hands of the Russians, were sent as colonists to their Asiatic dominions. Zorembo, one of their best officers, was wise enough to reconcile himself to the King, from whom he obtained a Major-General's commission, and now sought, by his vigorous exertions against his old friends, to wipe off the remembrance of his past faults. 15th August 1772, Czenstuchow, the last fortress of the confederates, surrendered at discretion to the Russians. Haddick, the Austrian General, published a manifesto, that as the general confederacy no more subsisted, all who pretended to be confederates should be treated as robbers and murderers, and two ducats should be given for every such person brought to him, dead or alive. On 18th and 26th September, the three powers concerned in the partition of Poland notified the reasons of their proceedings to the Court of Warsaw. A calamity which Poland brought on itself, by a confederacy instigated by the basest motives.

Russia had sacrificed in this war fifty thousand soldiers, and had acquired ten thousand ducats, and an incredible quantity of artillery. About four hundred towns and villages were reduced to heaps of rubbish. The plague carried off more than a hundred thousand Poles and Jews. Ten thousand were hanged, or murdered by street robbers. Above eighty thousand were transported to the Russian colonies, or incorporated in their regiments; and more than seven hundred thousand betook themselves to the Austrian and Russian dominions, to avoid the cruelties of this war. The ready money was partly buried in cloisters; partly, in the midst of the disasters of their country, prodigally squandered away by the noblesse; part-

ly carried to foreign countries, to purchase allies, officers, soldiers, ammunition, &c. for increasing the public calamities. In that part of Poland which was dismembered by the partition treaty, the rights of the states of the kingdom were almost lost. An entire change of the plan of government and of manners took place in the new acquisitions of Austria and Prussia; though in those of the Czarina, the old regulations were generally preserved.——As to religion, even in the Austrian acquisitions, though the Catholic clergy had a prince of their own religion, their influence and wealth was now at the beck of an unlimited sovereign; whereas the constitution of Poland had vested them with important powers in state matters: and in the Russian and Prussian countries, though Catholics were in no danger of persecution, they could not have the same respect and influence as under a prince of their own religion: the hopes of wealth, and of strengthening themselves by new converts, were diminished, as there was no excitement to become Catholics from prospect of temporal advantages; and none were restrained from renouncing Popery who chose to do it, whether from conscience or from worldly motives. Many of the united brethren, who, when force was used to make them renounce their sentiments, steadily adhered to them, now, when allowed by the Russian government the public exercise of their religion, voluntarily embraced the old Greek church. All the churches of which the Dissidents had been unjustly deprived, in the new acquisitions of the Russians and Prussians, were restored. The confederates who remained in Poland, now saw it necessary to submit to the prince whom they had endeavoured to murder or dethrone; and though his prudence and generosity was

was ſuch, that he ſeemed to forget their crimes, and ſought by the kindeſt treatment to gain their affections, they ſeverely ſmarted for their conduct. The value of their rents, the worth of their money, the profits of their commerce, and their influence, were conſiderably leſſened. Their eſtates, or the places to which they carried the produce of them, were now ſubject to foreign princes, and paid what tribute or cuſtom they pleaſed to impoſe. The price of foreign commodities advanced, and the money which was conſtantly going for them to the new acquiſitions, ſcarce ever returned.

In 1773, a diet was called for ratifying the ceſſions to the three powers, and for regulating the internal affairs of Poland. General Golz and Colonel Bronikowſki were ſent deputies by the Diſſidents, and preſented a long memorial, proving their rights. The Biſhops of Smolenſko and Lutzko threatened to proteſt againſt the diet, if any indulgence was granted to the Diſſidents which they had not poſſeſſed in 1766. The King profeſſed his deſire of preſerving the prerogatives of the eſtabliſhed religion, on the one hand, and granting all proper indulgence to the Diſſidents, on the other; and his perſuaſion, that the Diſſidents themſelves would not object to their being excluded from offices connected with legiſlation, to the aboliſhing the mixed tribunals, and to confirming the laws againſt apoſtaſy. But they rightly judged, that without mixed tribunals they could have no ſecurity for enjoying the privileges ſtill left them. They did not however object to an excluſion from higher offices, to which their middle ſtation of life permitted few of them to aſpire. But the ſpeeches of ſome, who, on occaſion of the condemnation of the King's murderers,

dared

dared to approve the Paris maſſacre, ſhowed, that the diet was neither diſpoſed to repair the late injuries ſuffered by the Diſſidents, nor to give them ſufficient ſecurity for the future. An ordinance, 1775, reduced them to a legal inactivity, and made very unfavourable alterations in the mixed tribunals. The Courts of Peterſburg and Berlin had previouſly conſented to the thus abridging their rights. In lands ceded to Auſtria, the Diſſidents could not even obtain the privileges they had held before the confederacy of Bar. It was even with difficulty granted, that they ſhould retain all the poſſeſſions, privileges and immunities, civil and ſacred, which they held December 1772, when they became ſubject to Auſtria.

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NUMBER V.

PROTESTANT MARRIAGES IN FRANCE.

From WALCH's *Neueste Religion's Geschichte.* 5 th.
Lemgo 1775. No. IV.

BY an edict of Lewis XV., 1724, all marriages not celebrated by priests of the church of Rome, are declared concubinage, and the children of such marriages bastards. The laws of France also ordain, that before marriage, the parties shall confess, and receive the Lord's Supper. As Protestants could not do this without renouncing their religion; and as, since the revocation of the edict of Nantz, they had been deprived of their churches; their marriages were solemnized in the open fields, and hence called *Marriages of the Desart.* Many are the oppressions they have on this account endured. The tender connexion of husband and wife, by the laws of the state, and decisions of Parliament, was considered as infamous; and for no other crime, the married persons were imprisoned, sent to the galleys, or by exorbitant fines reduced to poverty. Innocent infants, pledges of the purest love, before their birth, were, by the father of their country, condemned to the shame and wretchedness of being accounted children of uncleanness. The Catholic clergy, attended by bailiffs, broke into houses in the night, destroyed every thing, tore children who had reached four years of age from the bosoms of parents, and placed them under the direction and government of monks, the parents being obliged to defray the charge of educating them in a religion which they detested. If children

dren escaped, the father was forced to pay an enormous fine, or to pine away in a gloomy dungeon. From 1751 to 1753, many such hellish scenes were transacted in a nation, which prides itself as the pattern of humanity and politeness. The Intendant of Languedoc enjoined, 1751, that all children baptized by Protestants, should be rebaptized in the Romish church; and that the marriages of Protestants should be rendered legitimate only by the priest's subsequent blessing *. Men present at religious assemblies were punished with the galleys; women with perpetual imprisonment; preachers with the halter. Instructions, consolations, sacraments, were prohibited to Protestants. Even on their deathbeds they were tormented by the unwelcome visits of monks and priests; and when they heroically retained to the last breath the Protestant faith, their dead bodies were dragged through the streets, and thrown upon dunghills. The severe laws from which these evils arose, remained unrepealed; and the execution of them depended on the humour of bishops and intendants. Complaints of these cruelties were considered as seditious; and escaping them, by leaving the kingdom, was not allowed. So deeply did an intolerant spirit debase human nature, and produced barbarities which would shock a Huron †.

Yet, notwithstanding the efforts used to prevent it, such multitudes fled from France to avoid these persecutions, that at last the Court found it necessary to restrain them; and for some years past, the

* Patriot François et Impartial, tom. 2. p. 26.——Mr Courtanne, a Protestant preacher at Nismes, wrote that book.

† Memoire historique de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable au sujet de la religion reformée en plusieurs provinces de France, depuis 1744 jusq' aux années 1751 et 1752.

the situation of Protestants has become more favourable. Advocates have ventured to plead, upon specious grounds, that the laws requiring priestly benediction in marriages, only respect Catholics and new converts. Mr Roux, one of the wealthiest merchants in Nismes, had for eight years lived happily with his wife, the daughter of Mr Roubel, a respectable merchant in the same place, both of them being Protestants. In an illness of her husband, which at first appeared dangerous, and from which his recovery was slow, Madam Roux became acquainted with a merchant's clerk. By him her virtue was attacked and conquered, and a criminal correspondence commenced, which at last betrayed her to forsake her husband, and four infants, two of them dangerously sick, and to retire to a nunnery, where she commenced a process for dissolving her marriage. She declared, that she was now convinced of the Catholic faith; that her marriage with Mr Roux, being solemnized by a Protestant preacher, was void, and her four children bastards: and therefore, she required, that Mr Roux would either renounce Protestantism, and render lawful their connexion, hitherto criminal, by the benediction of the church; or else that their marriage should be declared null. Thus, tenderness, fidelity and gratitude to her husband, and even natural affection to her children, were extinguished by her unhallowed passion; and a process commenced before the presidial court of the province of Nismes, on which depended the fate of six hundred thousand married persons, and of three millions and a half of children.

Troussel, an advocate in the supreme court of that province, undertook the cause of Roux, or rather of all the Protestants in France; and prov-

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ed from the law of nature, the civil law, a bull of Benedict XIV, and the decrees of the Council of Trent, that marriages solemnized in Protestant churches were valid. He boldly ascribed the repeal of the edict of Nantz to the arts of Lewis XIV.'s enemies; and concluded with an address worthy a Cicero or Demosthenes. "Will "you, by dissolving this marriage, strike horror "into six hundred thousand virtuous families? "What, my Lords! shall this province, blessed "with so favourable a climate, and so rich a soil, "and which is chiefly indebted for its beauty and "fertility to the industry of Protestants; shall "this city, where the sciences, where the fine "arts, and where manufactures flourish, and "where such multitudes of that religion are numbered among their patrons; shall the whole "land become the dreadful abode of vice and "violence? Shall those, united by the tenderest "ties, be cruelly torn asunder; and the purest "love blotted with the hated name of concubinage? Shall ladies, estimable for their natural charms, but more so for the thousand "virtues which adorn them, be taught, that what "they imagined the chaste embraces of a husband, was indeed the pollutions of a seducer? "Here I visit the hall of affluence, honestly earned, and honourably used. I see a venerable "old man, surrounded with his sons, their wives "and their children. I hear them mutually addressing one another by the names of father and "child, or in the still more sweet and endearing "language of the marriage relation; vying one "with another in expressions of warm affection, "and in prayers for long life to their King, and "for prosperity to their country. If the request "of the lady against whom I plead is granted, I "behold

" behold this reſpectable aſylum, this ſeat of har-
" mony and bliſs, ſuddenly filled with anxiety,
" with tears, and with the outcries of deſpair.
" Yonder I enter the cottage of the poor. I ſee
" an infant ſucking the breaſt of his mother,
" while the weariſome and almoſt uninterrupted
" labours of the father procure his family a ſcanty
" ſubſiſtence. Though they have long ſighed un-
" der the burdens of poverty, they have regarded
" with reverence a connexion which they had
" vowed to God death only ſhould diſſolve. But,
" in an ill fated hour, the tidings reach them,
" that it is more honourable and pious to break
" off, than to continue their connexion. I ſhould
" never end, did I attempt to unfold all the fatal
" conſequences of annulling the marriages of the
" deſert. You, my Lords, will reject with ab-
" horrence a ſyſtem, which theological intoler-
" ance, and ignorance of the true principles of
" our laws, have engendered. You will ſay to
" yourſelves, *Our laws prohibit the clandeſtine mar-*
" *riages of Catholics : but the marriages of Proteſt-*
" *ants, ſolemnized by their own teachers, they prohi-*
" *bit not. The Roman law even approves them.*
" *But, was every written law ſilent, the law of*
" *equity inſcribed by God on our hearts, and regard*
" *to good morals, which the lady of Mr Roux has ſo*
" *wantonly violated, oblige us to check thoſe who may*
" *be ſeduced to follow her baneful example.* Fa-
" thers of your country! ſhow the nation, which
" ſo impatiently waits your deciſion, that no
" ſelfiſh motives can reſtrain you from uprightly
" defending the rights of violated nature. Bluſh
" not to diſplay in the judge, the friend of hu-
" manity. We will not, ſaid Lewis XIII. in an
" edict 1629, ſuffer marriages which have been
" conſummated to be called in queſtion, as this

 " might

"might involve our subjects in processes of the "most serious consequences.—Quiet your minds, "my fellow-citizens. Tender-hearted parents, "torment not yourselves with the fate of your "children. Your judges will be moved, as the "Emperors Marcus and Lucius were, in a re-"script on a like occasion, by the length of your "connexion, and the number of your children. "—Yes, my Lords! you will confirm the hap-"piness of the poor children here prostrate be-"fore you, and pleading——*Our cruel mother has "forsaken us. O adopt us as your children. Ah! "take from us our substance; only leave us that in-"estimable treasure, the tender-hearted father who "loves us. He beholds our tears. He mingles with "them his own. With transport he presses us to his "breast, and cries, God preserve you, my dear chil-"dren, my only hope, my only happiness. O our "judges! deprive us not of this worthy, this virtu-"ous, this best of parents. So will we bless you. "And your decision, approved of by your country, "shall be transmitted from age to age, as a lasting "monument of your wisdom.*"

A decision was now expected, and the Protestants were crowding in hundreds to hear it: when Maser, the King's advocate appeared, and made a speech, to prepare the judges for passing sentence. His speech, too, contains masterly strokes of eloquence, and breathes the same liberal spirit and hatred of intolerance as Mr Troussel's. He thus addresses Madam Roux, who had summoned her husband by the officers of court to embrace the Catholic religion. "Thoughtless "lady! A change of religion is the work of "free and miraculous grace, and you ascribe it "to the power of a magistrate's attendants. "Why interpose the ministers of violence be-

"tween

"tween you and your husband, if you indeed "seriously desire his changing his religion, and "not rather employ that mouth with which you "one day vowed him eternal fidelity?" He speaks of the Protestants, as men who loved order and peace, who zealously promoted the public welfare, and who atoned for their errors by their virtues. He observes, that the laws pled against the validity of Protestant marriages were of doubtful interpretation, and insinuates that Mr Troussel's sense of them appeared to him the most probable. Nay, in the presence of Catholic judges and a multitude of Catholic hearers, he ventured to say that it was to the Protestants the house of Bourbon owed the crown. A decision, however, was hazardous. Declaring the marriage valid, might provoke the court, and certainly would exasperate the powerful Popish clergy. The annulling it, would be a condemning three millions of French subjects. To extricate the judges therefore from this dilemma, and to afford a pretext for delaying an immediate decision, Mr Maser observed, that Mr Roux's children were interested in the cause, and that it would be improper to determine it, before one was commissioned by the court to appear in their behalf. In this proposal the judges acquiesced.

I must not omit the pathetic conclusion of Mr Maser's speech. After addressing the many Protestants in the assembly to allay their fears of a sentence, which might deeply wound their dearest interests, he says: "France will never forget, "that in a tempestuous season, you fastened the "pillars of the tottering monarchy, and raised to "the throne, when fanatics would have deprived "him of it, that pattern of princes, whose name "excites the most pleasant emotions in the heart

" of every Frenchman, Henry IV. From the " grave, where his ashes rest, his shade watches " over your destiny. *He is risen!*" Here the judgment-hall resounded with the claps and shouts of Protestants. The form of the French resembles that of the old Roman tribunals, in what is most essential. Advocates appear, and in courts with open doors, before a numerous audience, employ all their eloquence to gain the cause of their clients, and to secure the applause of their hearers. These speeches are afterwards published, and spread through the whole kingdom. This practice is well suited to form great orators, and has actually formed the truly eloquent d'Augusseau, Loyseau de Meauleon, &c. But this advantage is much balanced by the expensiveness of processes, which often amounts to a third of the sum for which they were commenced.

Encomiums on the Protestants, and a public defence of their marriages and other rights before a Catholic tribunal, enraged the Popish clergy. They employed slander, their usual weapon, that they might thus drag their opposers to prisons, to galleys, or to scaffolds. They wrote to court, that the Protestants in Languedoc had begun an insurrection, and pressed by thousands to the judgment-hall, and that Troussel and Maser were at their head, and in their pay. Often at Paris, on such partial information, lettres de cachet had been issued, and the innocent deprived of their estates, honour, or life. Both advocates were summoned to court, and very unfavourably received. By degrees, however, the true state of the case was known; the ministry, and with them the system of the court was changed; and Troussel and Maser were dismissed with a gentle admonition,

admonition, that they were ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the eldeſt ſon of the church.

The court alſo put a ſtop to the proceſs. By a letter de cachet, Madam Roux was ordered to be carried to a nunnery in Vienne; but, on the other hand, the two eldeſt ſons were taken from their father, and ſent to a monaſtery. Madam Roux's advocate attempted to awaken the proceſs, and preſſed for a deciſion againſt the marriage. But firſt by an order from the intendant of the province, and afterwards from court, he was obliged to deſiſt. This the Proteſtants conſidered as a ſilent approbation of their marriages, and as a preſage of more favourable edicts. Theſe worthy men, muſt account it an act of grace, to be indulged in poſſeſſing the moſt common rights of humanity.

Readers of this hiſtory, praiſe God that the peace and ſafety of your families is not thus diſturbed, and that you are bleſſed with the free exerciſe of religion, and with a mild and gentle government. Highly eſteem, and wiſely improve theſe important advantages. Guard your hearts againſt the firſt ſolicitations of criminal deſires. From every quarter temptations may aſſault you. Virtue is eaſily loſt, and vice is difficultly rooted out. Abhor violent methods of propagating religion, as a monſter ſprung from the pit, which transforms men into devils, and earth into hell. Hiſtory is unprofitable, and unworthy to employ ſpirits deſtined for immortality, if it doth not thus inſpire or confirm good diſpoſitions.

Much was publiſhed both by Papiſts and Proteſtants on occaſion of this proceſs. But the above account is abridged from three capital publications.—*Plaidoyer ſur la validité d'un marriage Proteſtant*,

Protestant, par M. Trouffel, avocat au Conseil Superieur, Nism. 1774, 8vo, 40 pages.—*Second Plaidoyer en replique sur la validité d'un marriage Protestant*, par M. Trouffel, Nism. 1774, 8vo, 55 pages.—*Discours* de M. Mazer, avocat du Roi, au Presidial de Nismes, *dans la cause du Sieur et de la Dame Roux*, Nism. 1774, 12mo, 41 pages.

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NUMBER VI.

STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE.

By Dr Less, Professor of Divinity at *Gottingen*.

From Walch's *Neueste Religion's geschichte*, 6 th. Lemgo 1777. No. I.

P. 5—36. The edict of Nantz under Henry IV, which granted Protestants in France the free exercise of their religion, was by that great Prince declared irrevocable, and sworn to as such by his successors Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. Yet, ambitious of the honour of forcing all his subjects to his own religion, and instigated by his Jesuit Father Confessor, who insinuated that severity on heretics would expiate his former crimes, Lewis XIV, without any alleged provocation, repealed that edict. Protestant churches, in consequence of this repeal, were destroyed; their preachers, professors, and schoolmasters, banished; all others obliged to go to mass: Preaching in Protestant religious assemblies punished with the halter; and attending them, with the galleys, or confinement for life in houses of correction. When the clergy discovered that Protestants secretly assembled themselves, detachments of soldiers surrounded them, fired upon them, and took as many of them as they could prisoners. The Protestant preachers being thus put to death, or forced to fly to foreign lands, some respectable members of the bereaved churches undertook the care of them. Of these, two are still gratefully remembered. Mr Brousson,

a celebrated advocate before the parliament of Toloufe, went to Switzerland, procured ordination, returned to France, and after preaching with much fatigue and danger in different provinces, was at laft executed at Montpelier, as his fcholar Mr Rey afterwards was. The Proteftants, deprived of their teachers, fell into ignorance, and at the fame time perfecution increafed. Both caufes produced enthufiafm, and that again the celebrated war of the Comifards, which the other Proteftants in France utterly condemned. This war, which coft the lives of thoufands, inftead of foftening their perfecutors, hardened them ftill more. The wives of Proteftants were dragged into nunneries, and their daughters fent to a diftance from their parents, in hopes that thus they might be perfuaded to become Papifts. With thefe perfecutions, the perfecuted increafe. Defires oppofed, become ftronger. Love of honour, or liberty, or religion, transform into pleafures pains fuffered for thefe beloved objects. Compaffion excited in the fpectators of thefe tragedies, inclined them to favour the caufe of the fufferers. The courage of the Proteftants grows. The number of their preachers increafes. From refpect to the laws of the kingdom, for many years they had met fecretly and in the night. But as the blackeft flanders were raifed againft thefe meetings, they began, 1743, to affemble openly and in the day. They could not forfake the affembling themfelves together, as God had commanded it: and they affembled near great cities, that every one who inclined might come, and know what was faid and done. But they went unarmed, and attended by their wives and children, which fhows how unjuftly the Catholics accufe them of fedition. The meetings having now become numerous, and

marriages

marriages and baptiſms being ſolemnized in them, the Popiſh clergy were alarmed, and, by their influence, many Proteſtants were fined or impriſoned.

On a report, 1751, that the court meant to recal the baniſhed Proteſtants, and allow them the free exerciſe of their religion, the Biſhop of Agen wrote *Lettre à Mr le Controlleur General contre la tolerance des Huguenots*, full of wit and eloquence, but built on calumny, and aiming at nothing leſs than the total extirpation of the Huguenots. To this, Ant. Court, then preacher at Niſmes, under the maſk of a Catholic clergyman, publiſhed a full and ſolid anſwer, though not in an agreeable ſtyle, intituled, *Reponſe à la lettre*, &c.

In 1752, a new ſtorm burſt on the Proteſtants, the Intendant of Languedoc having ordered that their marriages and baptiſms ſhould be confirmed in Popiſh churches, whither, for this purpoſe, parents and children were violently dragged. Except in a few inſtances, this was ſuffered without reſiſtance. Multitudes, however, left their houſes and poſſeſſions, and fled to Switzerland or Ireland, which occaſioned ſo great a depopulation in Languedoc, that Marquis de Paulmy was ſent there to inquire into the cauſe of the emigrations. Though the law condemned Proteſtant preachers to the halter, Paul Rabaut, the eldeſt preacher at Niſmes, ventured to ſtop the Marquis's chariot at ſome diſtance from Montpelier, to tell who he was, and to preſent a memorial fully and juſtly repreſenting the ſituation and conduct of the Proteſtants. He was favourably received, and having wrote the Marquis on his return to Paris, was aſſured by him, that if conſulted by the court, he would adviſe granting the Proteſtants every reaſonable indulgence. In the memorial, Rabaut

gave

gave a lively picture of what his brethren in Languedoc had, in consequence of the basest slanders, suffered for ten years past. Attending religious assemblies was punished with loss of nobility, banishment, imprisonments, scourging, the galleys, death. Parties of soldiers attack their defenceless meetings, and wound, maim, or kill men, women and children. Bibles found in the possession of any were burnt, and the possessors put to death. Husbands, wives and children, were torn from one another's arms, that the children might be rebaptized and educated in Popery, and the parents compelled to renounce their religion. By the violence of the soldiers massacres were committed in private houses; and many whom they seized were hanged, and their carcases cast on dunghills. All this happened in our enlightened century, and in the most polite and civilized nation. It is no wonder that despair drove some to violent measures in self-defence, and that many sought safety by flight. Their bowels were rent, by taking from them, what in the world was dearest to them. In the most Christian kingdom, a dark dungeon, or the galleys, or death, was his reward, who would not live as an Atheist without worshipping God; and complaints of this barbarous treatment, were accounted crimes.

Though the court gave no public answer to Rabaut's memorial and petition, the grievances of the Protestants were from the year 1753 considerably mitigated; and the exorbitant fines levied on those who attended Protestant worship ceased. Still, however, the persecuting spirit of Popery remained; and in 1761, the Protestants suffered no small disturbance, on account of their baptisms and marriages. This occasioned a work, intituled, *Tres humble et respectueuse requete des Protestans de*

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la province de Languedoc au Roi. "It is not," says the author, "the cause of one, but of more than "twelve thousand families in the diocese of "Nismes, and more than eighty thousand in the "province of Languedoc, who implore justice "from your Majesty. If attachment to a reli-"gion, in which they were born and educated, "and which, on examination in riper years, they "have found no cause to renounce, is indeed an "error: will humanity and compassion dictate "the use of violence for curing it? No, Sir. "Force, instead of enlightening, hardens the "mind. It is a mean, opposite to the end which it "designs, and still more opposite to the kind and "beneficent character of your Majesty."

Since that time, the bloody laws which remain in force, have not been executed. Protestants are suffered peaceably to attend their worship; and their marriages and children are acknowledged legitimate.

The above account is taken from *Histoire abregée de la ville de Nismes*, Amsterdam (*i. e.* Avignon) 1767, 8vo: and from a written memorial and verbal accounts given me by Mr Rabaut, when, on occasion of a journey to Switzerland and France for my health, I lodged with him, December 1774 and January 1775, in his house at Nismes.—What follows is the result of what I witnessed myself in travelling from Nismes to Paris, or heard from persons of the best credit, especially from Mr Rabaut, who is the oracle of the French Protestants.

It is generally reckoned, that the Protestants in France are about three millions, which is thought about a sixth part of the whole inhabitants. I am assured that computation is too great. France has been much depopulated by war, and by the oppressive government

government in the last years of Lewis XV. The Reformed have been diminished by the thousands whom persecution hath put to death; by the difficulties of Protestant marriages hindering the birth of thousands more; and by the millions who have fled from their country. The greatest number of them are in the province of Languedoc; *i. e.* in the Upper and Lower Languedoc, the Cevennes, and the Vivarais. Nismes contains about 40,000 inhabitants, of which 25,000 are Protestants. Since the last emigration, which we have just now mentioned, and especially since the accession of Lewis XVI, they everywhere exercise their religion pretty publicly. In mercantile towns, their freedom is greatest. They have a house at Marseilles, where they assemble for worship. They meet every Sabbath at a nobleman's seat in Dauphiny, about half an hour's walk from Lyons. Martin, their preacher, resides in that city, and performs, undisturbed, all the duties of his office, not however distinguishing himself by his dress. They have even a separate burial place, where they who can afford the expence, inter their friends with a multitude of coaches and torches. The Swiss, who are numerous in France, have great mercantile privileges, yet under the condition of not exercising their religion publicly. They are however allowed to bring a minister from Switzerland once a year, to dispense to them the sacraments. This has now become unnecessary; for they join with the French Protestants. The cause of these immunities is the extensive commerce of that city enlightening and uniting men's minds, and a desire of gaining the wealth of Protestant merchants. In the capital, the Reformed have no preachers or religious assemblies; for as their freedom of worship rests on indul-

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gence in oppoſition to law, they venture not to violate the law in preſence of the court. So that, in Paris, their only public worſhip is in the chapel of the Dutch embaſſador, where they have two preachers.

Except in the few places where they have churches, they aſſemble on Sabbaths in the open fields. Their preachers, who dwell among them, have the prudence in common life to change their homes. They are nowhere allowed public ſchools, though in ſome places they venture to teach the principles of religion, writing and arithmetic. Their diſcipline and church government may be learned from *Diſcipline eccleſiastique des egliſes reformées de France*, *Amſt.* 1710, 4to. Their eccleſiaſtical affairs are under the direction of conſiſtories compoſed of the miniſters, elders and deacons in a congregation of colloquies, compoſed of the preachers and elders of a diſtrict; provincial ſynods, conſiſting of the preachers and elders of a whole province; and national ſynods, where, for avoiding ſhow, only deputies choſen by the miniſters and elders of the whole kingdom, aſſemble. Their national ſynods ſeldom meet. Their laſt meeting was 1763. If their laws of diſcipline, as to rebukes for offences, and the leſſer and greater excommunication, are ſevere, they are little executed. Through the want of ordinary ſchools, their clergy know little Latin, no Greek, and are ſtrangers to the writings of the antients. Having no academies for educating their clergy, thoſe deſigned for the ſacred office, receive their firſt inſtructions from ſome miniſter, and then go to a ſeminary at Lauſanne for Proteſtant miniſters in France. After a ſlight and ſhort courſe of ſtudy, they are ordained, and return to their native country, deſtitute of any

learned knowledge of religion: so that, in a church which could boast of Amyraldus, Capellus, &c. perhaps there are not now three clergymen who can understand, or even read the Bible in the original languages.—Even their manners are affected. Ignorant of the state of the churches where they are to minister, dissatisfied with their straitened circumstances, and strangers to politeness and good manners, they often disgrace their character by fierce contentions with the members of their churches, which they sometimes bring to the pulpit. A preacher at Lunelle received a box on the ear from a young man whom he had addressed from the pulpit. Having beat the young man in revenge of the affront, for avoiding persecution, he was instantly forced to fly France, as he knew that his being a preacher was by the law of the land a capital crime. Paul Rabout, the eldest of the three clergymen at Nismes, is their most respectable clergyman. Learning is not to be expected in one of so narrow an education, and constantly engaged in such a variety of labours. But his talents are great, his judgement quick and solid, and his knowledge of religion and of the sciences so profitably applied, that few of the most learned are equally useful in their stations, as he in his. His merits have impressed me with an indelible respect, though I had that near view of them from which even the most shining characters generally lose something of their lustre. To him, the preservation of Protestants in France has been chiefly owing. His whole life has been a constant sacrifice to the interests of religion. He devoted himself to the pastoral office, at a time of violent persecution, when he had every thing to dread. With an income which scarce furnishes him the necessaries of subsistence, in the midst

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of difficulties, and in a thouſand inſtances with the hazard of his life, he has performed, in the moſt diſintereſted manner; the laborious duties of his function. For many years, he was nowhere ſafe, not even in his own houſe. Soldiers came ſuddenly, both by day and by night, ſurrounded his houſe, and ſearched for him. Every trick was uſed for ſeizing and getting rid of one, juſtly viewed as the chief ſupport of Proteſtantiſm. Everywhere ſurrounded by ſpies, and every moment in danger, he uſually performed his miniſterial duties only in the night; or, if it was needful in the day, he diſguiſed himſelf as a bricklayer or a ſtocking weaver. Often he was obliged to leave his houſe, and to ly whole days and nights in the open fields, or in ſome remote pitiful hut, certain that, if ſeized, he muſt inſtantly ſuffer an ignominious death. In theſe dangers, his only human ſecurity was the fidelity of his flock. They conſtantly watched over him, and at the firſt approach of hazard, gave him warning. He aſſured me, that he often eſcaped by ſecret forebodings of the deſigns of his enemies. One night at ſupper, he felt a ſudden and almoſt irreſiſtible impulſe to leave his own houſe, and to ſleep ſomewhere elſe. Accordingly, he left it, though his wife intreated him to ſtay, as there was not the leaſt appearance of danger. Next day, he was informed, that about three o'clock in the morning, a detachment of ſoldiers had ſurrounded his houſe, and ſearched for him. I the rather regard theſe accounts, as I never knew a man farther from enthuſiaſm. The luſtre of his other virtues was increaſed by his unaffected modeſty. Though rich in deeds which commanded reſpect, he uſed no art to diſplay them, and ſpoke as little of them as if he had no concern in them. This however rendered their

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influence more irresistible. The Protestants honoured him as a parent. Nay, so great was his authority, both with Catholics and Protestants, that no day passed in which he was not employed as an arbiter; and more processes were ended in his house, than were brought before the tribunals of the city.

The seminary erected at Lausanne 1731, for Protestant ministers in France, chiefly through the influence of Ant. Court, then minister at Nismes, and Geo. Polier, then professor at Lausanne, is not a public, but only a private tolerated institution. Such a seminary was necessary, because the lords of Bern, through fear of the French court, do not allow French Protestants to study at the public academy of Lausanne. For the same reason, they venture not to give their public sanction to this seminary. The money for supporting it comes from England and Holland. When I was at Lausanne 1775, the students there were twenty-two, all maintained, though very sparingly. The expence that year was six thousand rixdollars. Secretan teaches them divinity, Chavannes, logic and morals, and Buynian, as inspector of the institution, watches over their diligence and morals.

From this imperfect preparation under their teachers, it cannot be expected that the state of the Protestants in France should be very flourishing. Exclusion from all offices in the state, has diminished them more than a violent persecution would have done. Among them too, as well as among Catholics, the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau have diffused the poison of infidelity, or of indifference to religion, and neglect of public ordinances. Protestant advocates, without scruple, procure from priests false attestations of

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their having confessed and attended mass, that they may not be debarred from pleading before the tribunals. The lives and possessions of Protestant preachers, not being protected by law, ly at the mercy of every vile informer. Their salaries are small, the highest not exceeding two hundred and fifty rixdollars. Hence, their preachers are men of the lowest rank, of mean education, and often do more hurt by their bad morals, than they do service by their very defective instructions. Attendance on public worship, zeal for a religion of which they know little more than the name, and liberality to the poor, are by most of their hearers deemed sufficient to constitute them good Christians. Still, however, there are among them some illustrious characters, to which the reading of the Bible, and books of devotion, as well as the instructions of their preachers, greatly contribute; and, in general, there is a difference of conduct in them, and in their Catholic neighbours, much in their favour. Debauchery greatly prevails, and is often attended by extravagance, dishonesty and deceit. From the ideas of civil liberty which their preachers acquire at Lausanne, it is probable government will find considerable resistance, should they attempt to renew their persecution. Thus, the cruelties which have inflamed the zeal, and increased the numbers of professors of the truth, has at the same time rendered solid and thorough instruction more difficult and rare; so that knowledge has declined, real virtue languished, and prejudices and errors gained ground. The blood of martyrs, when it is the seed of the visible church, is not always the seed of virtue. The preserving of Protestantism, and the many happy consequences of it, would have been impossible, had assembling themselves toge-

ther for public worship been discontinued. In the meetings between two rocks near Nismes, which I attended for two months, six thousand generally assembled; and on new-year and communion day, sometimes twelve thousand. The service is performed with such solemnity and devotion, as often makes impressions on Papists, who, from curiosity, or from malicious views, attend. Many are instructed, and more inspired with love and reverence for religion. The inconveniences they often suffer from the weather; the union of parents and children, of young and old, of the rich and honourable, and of the poor and mean, in the same acts of devotion; the attentive and earnest looks; the weeping eyes; have often so affected me, that I could not refrain from tears. A respect is kindled for the God adored, and the religion confessed, which excites to a more careful reading the Bible, and a better improvement of other means of knowledge, when they return home. Hence, what only begun in dark confused feelings, often ends in enlightening the understanding, and warming the heart. For want of public worshipping assemblies, the religion of the Protestants in the Cevennes, was lost in enthusiasm; and that enthusiasm, had not government inflamed it by persecution, would soon have evaporated, and been succeeded by such gross ignorance, that it would have been easy to have spread among them, not only Popery, but even Mahometanism or Paganism. Many will be surprised that Protestants should venture to assemble thus openly, when in such imminent danger from the malice of their enemies: But they had their spies, who brought them early advice of any designs against them. Civil magistrates had often no inclination to execute rigorous laws, and to hearken to

to the complaints of the clergy: ſoldiers, from motives of religion or of humanity, often ſent them intelligence; or the commander of a detachment beat the drum at ſuch a diſtance that they had time to eſcape. Beſides all this, they thought themſelves bound by the precepts, 1 Jo. iii. 16. and Heb. x. 24, 25., to riſk the greateſt temporal calamities, rather than neglect a neceſſary duty. Thanks to Providence, they can now perform that duty ſafely and undiſturbed! Various circumſtances have contributed to this revolution: particularly, the hatred of the monks; the baniſhment of the Jeſuits, the chief inſtruments of perſecution; the contempt of the Janſeniſts; the tolerant ſpirit diffuſed by Voltaire's writings; and the generous boldneſs, and manly eloquence, with which ſome advocates have pled the cauſe of Proteſtants *. Many of the Biſhops favour liberty of conſcience. The preſent King loves his ſubjects, and hates perſecution. The bigotry of the Archbiſhop of Paris, and of ſome miniſters of ſtate, are the chief hinderances of their obtaining a legal toleration; which, by encouraging their marriages, and recalling refugees, would increaſe the commerce and manufactures of France, and unite the ſtrength of that kingdom.

* See *Mr. Loyseau de Mauleon memoire pour Donat, & Louis Calas, t. 1. seiner plaidoyers, Par.* 1. vol. in 4to.; and the former number of theſe Sketches.

NUMBER VII.

GRIEVANCES *of the* PROTESTANTS *in* HUNGARY.

From WALCH'*s Neueste Religion's Geschichte.* 6 *th.* Lemgo, 1777. No. V.

P. 211—320. JUSTLY do the Protestants in Hungary complain of their grievances, as violations of their natural right to freedom of conscience, of the laws of the kingdom, and even of solemn treaties between two parties, which the one had no power to annul, unless the other voluntarily renounced the rights thus acquired, or forfeited them by bad behaviour. This account of their claims, their foundations, and the hardships they unjustly suffer, is taken from three representations to the Court of Hungary 1774; the first presented by those of the Helvetic, the second by those of the Augsburg Confession, and the third by both; in which they thank the Queen and Emperor for being allowed to lay before them their complaints, and for their declaration that they were inclined to relieve their sufferings, though their oath to maintain the laws, and the system of the kingdom connected with them, hindered their fully gratifying these wishes, and restoring them to the enjoyment of all their rights. This third paper is chiefly intended to remove these conscientious scruples, and to show, that their oath, instead of hindering, favoured the redress of the Protestants grievances. It is not to be supposed, that in apologies presented to the Supreme Magistrate, Protestants would injure their cause, by advancing facts without sufficient evidence, or by a false representation of treaties or laws,

laws, when the Court already knew, or could easily discover the truth. Indeed, their adversaries, by not adventuring to contradict, have silently confirmed their representations.

Many cities and communities had obtained from their princes the free exercise of the Protestant religion, since King Ferdinand I. and King John. Though the laws of Lewis II, 1523 and 1525, which sentenced Lutherans to be burned, were hereby abrogated, yet, under pretence of religion, such cruelties continued to be exercised, as occasioned an almost general insurrection against the Austrians under Prince Botskai. By the peace of Vienna under Rodolph II, 1606, which ended these troubles, all ordinances in prejudice of the Lutherans and Calvinists, especially those of 1604, were abrogated, and the free choice and exercise of religion, and a claim to offices in the state, was allowed to them as well as to the Catholics. It is evident, that the expression, "free use and "exercise of religion," includes the exercise of it in churches and schools, as well as in their houses. A clause was indeed added, "without "prejudice of the Roman Catholic religion." But that clause was only intended to secure Papists in the enjoyment of their churches and schools, and in recovering those taken from them in the time of the civil war, as Protestants then exceeded them in number and power. Yet, as this clause was liable to misinterpretation, it was, by the unanimous consent of the states and of the kingdom, left out in another diploma of King Matthias, 1608, and in all the laws by which the peace of Vienna was afterwards confirmed. It is therefore surprising, that the Catholic clergy should persist in pleading this clause, in opposition to the just claims of the Protestants; especially as, by the

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peace of Lintz, 1645, which was inserted in the laws of the kingdom 1647, the peace of Vienna was confirmed without that clause; all ranks allowed the public exercise of the Protestant religion, and even bells and burial places; ninety churches taken from the Protestants were restored to them; the King, his ministers, or private proprietors of land, were not allowed to disturb any on account of the Protestant religion, or to force them to attend processions or other ceremonies, contrary to their principles; and Protestants were exempted from paying parish dues to Popish priests. These privileges were afterwards confirmed by the diets 1649 and 1655, by King Leopold's coronation diploma, and by the diets 1659 and 1662.

From that time, the Popish clergy, and those under their influence, began to form a design for depriving the Protestants in Hungary of the exercise of their religion. A persecution commenced 1671, and continued to 1681; and the diets assumed the power of altering the above laws by plurality of votes, though, by the laws of Hungary, plurality of votes in such cases is not sufficient; and the Protestants protested against this injustice.

The diet at Oedenburg 1681 stopped this persecution, and pretended to restore to the Protestants their rights, but with limitations, against which they found themselves obliged to protest. The public exercise of their religion, formerly allowed in every place, was confined to certain places named in that ordinance: and in allowing liberty of conscience, a clause was added entirely new, saving the rights of the proprietors of lands, though former laws expressly prohibited such proprietors from disturbing their tenants in the free exercise of their religion. At the diet 1687 it was

was declared, that though those of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions had, by their protestation against two articles of the diet of Oedenburg, forfeited the privileges secured them by that diet, yet their Majesties had resolved, from their clemency and grace, still to observe these articles. Thus the free exercise of their religion was declared a favour, not a right; and their bringing to the diets their justest complaints was deemed criminal. At the diet 1715, under Charles VI, complaints of grievances, henceforth, were not to be discussed by the diet, but by a court of commission, under direction of the Sovereign; and Protestants who thought themselves aggrieved, were only allowed to apply as individuals, and not as collective bodies. The King, from pure grace, confirmed not the old laws of 1608, but those of 1681 and 1687, according to the royal explanation given them. Thus it was left to the arbitrary pleasure of the Court, what privileges the Protestants should enjoy; though, by the constitution of Hungary, making, or authoritatively declaring the sense of laws, only belongs to the diet, with consent of the King and states *. By King Leopold's explanation, 1691, of the limitations of these privileges in 1681 and 1687, even those allowed public worship must contribute to the maintenance of the Popish clergy, and abstain from work on Popish holidays; their preachers must not baptize, marry, or perform other functions, except in their own church; and neighbours and dependants are not allowed to attend, or preachers to officiate in private chapels built by Protestants. By Charles VI.'s explications 1731, which confirm those of Leopold, preachers, even where

Protestant

* See the words of the coronation oath.—Resolves of the Diet 1741, article 8th.

Protestant worship is allowed, can only officiate to those who dwell in their parishes, or travel through them; and their number cannot be increased without licence from Court. In other places, they must employ Popish priests in marriages, burials and baptisms, and admit no strangers to family worship. Magistrates are required to inflict a severe arbitrary punishment on apostates from Popery, after informing the Court of the case. Judges and advocates must, in their oaths, expresly mention the mother of God, and all saints. Complaints of religious grievances must only be made to the King. The Protestant clergy are subjected to the visitation and trial of Popish archdeacons, as to their fitness for baptizing; and craftsmen must attend processions.

These unfavourable explications, not being founded on the laws of the kingdom, are unconstitutional. Catholics allow, that the sanguinary laws before 1606 were abrogated by the peace of Vienna that year. By the peace of Vienna, by the peace of Lintz, and by the laws from 1606 to 1681, Protestants in all places were secured the free public exercise of their religion, not as a favour, but as a right founded on treaties as well as laws. The laws, from the diet of Oedenburg 1681 to the present time, diminish their privileges, declare them mere favours, subject tenants to the bigotry of proprietors of land, and in other particulars infringe liberty of conscience. The Protestants justly plead, that the laws from 1606 to 1681 are still in force, because they are little more than ratifications of the treaties of peace 1606 and 1645; and by the law of nature and nations, such treaties can only lose their force by the free consent of both parties, or by a violation of a treaty on the one side, entitling the other to recede

recede from it. It has not been pretended, that the Proteſtants either voluntarily renounced their rights, or forfeited them by violating their obligations. Conſequently, as theſe rights have been violated, they are entitled to aſk reparation. The Catholics reply, that theſe promiſes were extorted by neceſſity, at a time when the Proteſtants exceeded them in number and ſtrength; and therefore, now, when they exceed the Proteſtants in both, no longer bind. But, in a contract or treaty of peace, the two parties muſt be reckoned according to the difference of their mutual claims and obligations, not according to the number of perſons on either ſide. The votes on one ſide could not have formed the treaty without the conſent of the other; and conſequently, without that conſent, cannot alter it. The increaſe of numbers on one ſide, and the diminution of them on the other, doth not annihilate the moral unity of a contracting party, the obligations entered into, or the rights acquired. On any other ſuppoſition, treaties could have no ſtability, as the number and ſtrength of nations continually ebbs and flows. The older laws, from 1608 to 1681, have never been repealed. Indeed, they may ſeem virtually repealed, by the reſtrictions added in edicts ſince 1681. But, though a majority of votes may, in other inſtances, eſtabliſh or alter laws; they cannot do it in prejudice of rights which any party has acquired by treaty or contract. Laws may authoriſe or oblige to actions, otherwiſe free and indifferent. But actions are not free and indifferent, which prior and higher obligations forbid. The free exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, was not a favour granted by the King and ſtates of Hungary, which they might withdraw or limit at pleaſure; but it was an obligation reſulting from

ſolemn engagements, which rendered unlawful any act of legiſlation oppoſite to theſe engagements. Laws, therefore, and explications of old laws, diminiſhing the privileges of Proteſtants, were unjuſt and unconſtitutional. By the diet 1741, art. 8, the laws of the ſtate muſt not be impaired by royal explanations, even though afterwards approved by a diet. Beſides, the majority of votes upon which the Catholics found their right of altering theſe old laws, has been artfully obtained, and the number of Proteſtants diminiſhed by perſecution and oppreſſion. It is therefore a majority of voices unlawfully acquired, and unlawfully employed. Prieſts have perſuaded virtuous and humane princes, that their coronation oaths bound them to the new laws, by which the exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion is reſtrained. The anſwer of the preſent Emperor to the memorial of the Proteſtants, is one example of this. To his ſcruple, they reply, in their third memorial, that the laws from 1608 to 1682 are among thoſe which his Majeſty was bound to obſerve, as they never had been repealed, and indeed could not be abrogated without the conſent, or without the fault of the Proteſtants. The oath, therefore, if underſtood as interpreted by the Popiſh clergy, binds to contradictions. An oath to obſerve the laws of the kingdom, cannot hinder reſtoring rights founded on laws not abrogated. He who entered into a contract with a private perſon, cannot afterwards make a law, freeing himſelf from the engagements of that contract; and when two parts of a divided empire make ſuch a contract, one party, by a majority of votes, cannot, in ſpite of the other, make it void. The obligation of treaties is not founded on the number of thoſe who bore a part in concluding them, but on the conſent

consent of the contending parties, however unequal in number or strength. If the new laws had constantly abrogated the old, still the coronation oath would not have bound to exclude Protestants from offices in the state, or to refuse restoring the churches of which they had been robbed; for these things were not ordained even by the diet 1715.

Protestants insist, that by the peace of Vienna, art. 1st, confirmed by many diets and coronation diplomas, all have a right of freely choosing and professing their religion. But by Charles VI.'s declaration, article 6th, renouncing Popery is to be severely punished, because it cannot be renounced without perjury, and therefore is a civil crime. It is manifest, that this pretext can only apply to those who first renounced, and afterwards returned to Protestantism; for from those born and educated in the Catholic religion, no oath is exacted. But it is equally manifest, that restraining the choice and profession of religion in any, can never be reconciled to that solemn treaty.

Protestants, by the peace of Lintz, claim an unrestrained public exercise of their religion. Papists would confine them to exercising it in their families.

By solemn treaties and plain laws, offices in the state should be common to those of both religions. But of this right they are deprived, partly by unconstitutional privileges granted to different cities and communities to exclude Protestants from civil offices, and partly by Charles VI. enjoining all invested with offices to swear fidelity to Mary and all saints.

By articles 10th and 13th of diet 1647, and article 26th of diet 1681, schools are allowed as an

essential branch of the free exercise of religion. But the Catholic clergy would limit Protestant schools to the teaching of grammar, though there is no such limitation in these laws, and it is opposite to their spirit.

By the diploma of Ferdinand II, 1622, and by article 8th of diet 1647, Protestants in corporations shall not be obliged to ceremonies against their religion. But by Charles VI.'s declaration, article 8th, they are obliged.

By article 26th, diet 1681, the nobility are allowed to build and endow chapels in the places of their residence. But this privilege, designed for the ease and convenience of their poor tenants, is interpreted to relate only to their own families.

By the diplomas of Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, and Leopold, and by the peace of Lintz, article 2d, proprietors are prohibited from disturbing their tenants in the free exercise of their religion. In the confirmation of the free exercise of religion, diet 1681, article 5th, the rights of proprietors are reserved. This surely means, that Protestants, under pretext of religion, should not neglect their duties, or violate their civil obligations to their landlords; and cannot mean, though it has been thus interpreted, that proprietors have a right, which even Kings have not, of directing or compelling the conscience.

By the diplomas of Ferdinand III, and of Leopold, and by article 10th, diet 1649, and article 15th, diet 1655, the grievances of Protestants were proposed in their common name, and thus discussed and decided. If article 30th, diet 1715, is inconsistent with this, it illegally deprives them of a privilege secured by treaty, and never forfeited. They therefore further plead, that it only respects grievances merely affecting individuals,

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and not those affecting Protestants in general; which last could with propriety be presented only in the name of all concerned. It is absurd to suppose that there should be a method for redressing hurt which one only had sustained, and none for redressing injuries in which a whole body of men is concerned.

The grievances in opposition to these rights are, (1.) Not only they who freely renounce Popery, but even such who were never Roman Catholics, on pretence of apostasy, are fined and imprisoned. The orphans of deceased Protestants are carried off under pretence of education; and, by various methods, forced to become Popish. (2.) They are virtually excluded from all offices, those invested in offices being obliged to swear by the mother of God and all saints. Members of corporations are compelled by fines to attend processions, and observe festivals, contrary to the dictates of their consciences. (3.) Except in a few counties, they are expresly excluded from every office. This exposes them to contempt, increases the pride and insolence of their enemies, who often abuse their power, by injuring them in civil, as well as in religious matters. (4.) In most places, schools are taken from them, so that their children must either remain ignorant, or be in danger of being perverted by seeking instruction from those of another communion. In other places, their schoolmasters are confined to teaching grammar. Travelling to foreign countries for learning the sciences is only permitted to the nobility, and on conditions, which render it very difficult; though the ancient laws allowed it, without the restrictions introduced 1743 by the Empress Queen. (5.) Printing Protestant books in

in Hungary, or importing them from foreign countries, is prohibited. An impression of the Bible, which the city of Debreckzin printed at great expence in Holland, was confiscated; and a few years ago, the Bible was burnt at the public market at Erlau. The censors of books at Vienna and Presburg, act with such inconsiderate violence, that they even seize books which have no connexion with religion; and one of my friends was deprived of Gesner's *Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ*, which could have been fairly imported and sold at Rome. (6.) They are prohibited from building new churches, or repairing old ones, without a special licence; and even from time to time deprived of those which they had hitherto peaceably possessed. By the peace of Lintz 1645, ninety churches should have been restored to them: Yet only twenty-two were actually restored; and of most of these they have been a second time deprived. From the year 1681 to 1773, six hundred and seventy-five churches have been taken from them. The right of proprietors of land is sometimes the pretence, for varnishing over this injustice. When a preacher dies, methods are used to prevent the settlement of a successor; and those who complain of the delay, are involved in such trouble and expence, that they are often forced to desist; and thus the church is for ever lost. Sometimes the priest attempts to take possession of the church; and if the congregation oppose him, the schoolmaster is accused of raising sedition, and punished. Priests and their congregations, and the Catholic nobility assisted by soldiers, often bear a part in these acts of violence, which sometimes end in bloodshed and murder. In other places, Protestant farmers are forced, by the burdens laid upon them, to leave their

their habitations, and their place is supplied by Papists; and thus the exercise of the Protestant religion ceases, no Protestants remaining, or too few to support a preacher. Sometimes the neighbourhood of another Protestant church, or the number of Protestants being diminished, is the pretext for this injustice. (7.) When different villages in the country have one preacher, preachers are prohibited, under severe fines, from officiating in any other than the mother church; so that a considerable part of the Protestant peasants are thus deprived of public worship. (8.) Sick Protestants are not allowed to send for preachers of their own religion, but forced to admit the visits of Popish priests, who often thrust out from the chamber, even their parents, husbands or wives. Protestant preachers are not only hindered from attending malefactors of their communion to the scaffold, but even from giving them one visit, after sentence of death is pronounced. (9.) Certain frontier provinces recovered from the Turks, being almost a desart, by art. 103. diet 1723, perfect freedom was promised to such who should settle in them. This drew to them numerous colonies of Protestants, who brought with them their preachers and schoolmasters, though they knew the danger, to which, in every war with the Turks, these frontier countries must be exposed. But now their preachers are banished, their schoolmasters prohibited from reading prayers or sermons, and their houses of prayer pulled down or shut up. (10.) When noblemen have private chapels; strangers, neighbours, and even other noblemen dwelling there, are not allowed to attend the worship. (11.) Popish priests not only exact altar dues, &c. from Protestants in Popish parishes, but from one denomination of

Protestants,

Protestants, in parishes where the other denomination has the undoubted free exercise of their religion, and immunity from such dues; though the laws of Hungary evidently intend, that in every place both denominations of Protestants should have the same immunities. Nay, preachers of one denomination are prohibited from preaching, and severely fined if they preach, where the other denomination has an acknowledged right to public worship. (12.) Those who have heritable jurisdiction, often abuse it. They imprison Protestant tenants, for small offences, or even, on mere accusation, inflict on them severe bodily punishment, if they will not change their religion; and on such change, free real criminals from deserved punishment. Children are sometimes torn from their loving parents, and, when seven years old, have the sacrament given them. In other places, money is exacted from the Protestant preachers and schoolmasters, and even for their churches and manses; and by exorbitant and oppressive demands, the poor peasants are disabled from supporting them. (13.) In almost every county and city, causes are tried and decided only by Roman Catholics; and the Bishop has agents present, whose influence is fatal to the Protestants. In some places, they are denied extracts of the proceedings, and even of the sentence. If they complain to the court, the complaint is referred to the county or city magistrates to inquire, and send up a relation. The inquiry is made by the enemies of their religion, who never admit Protestants as witnesses. The result is transmitted to the royal council; and being considered by Popish Lords with a Bishop President, they give their opinion to her Imperial Majesty, who lays it before the chancery, where, by the

the Popish clergy, it is finally determined. Thus, the authors of their injuries, are from first to last their judges. (14.) In matrimonial cases, Protestants are under the jurisdiction of Popish consistories. A late edict of the Empress Queen, requires their deciding according to the maxims of the Protestant religion; but in fact they do not. (15.) Protestant preachers are subject to the visitation of Popish bishops, and the jurisdiction of Popish consistories: in which respect, their state is worse than that of the Greeks. (16.) They are forbidden, under pain of losing their office, to marry any, without the testimonials of the Popish priest. These are often withheld, or the dues arbitrarily raised, so that those thrice proclaimed cannot obtain marriage. The baptisms of children, and the burial of the dead, are in like manner retarded. If Protestants apply to priests for these offices, they refuse to perform them, unless they promise to change their religion. (17.) In some cities, they are denied the right of purchasing houses, and even of disposing of houses which belonged to them by inheritance or purchase: in others, they are not allowed to keep inns. In Presburg and other places, it is prohibited to admit more Protestants to corporations, till Papists equal them in number. This equality is soon followed by a superiority of Papists, and that by a total exclusion of the Protestants. (18.) The Protestants are not allowed, as an united body, to apply for redress of their grievances. The facts complained of are generally too well known to be disputed. The only question is, whether the thing done was an injury, or agreeable to law? This cannot be fully discussed in every particular case, without a trouble and expence insupportable to private persons

aggrieved;

aggrieved; and when the decision is favourable, it affects not similar cases. Infringement of the just rights of conscience, are injuries to the whole body of Protestants; and therefore, the whole body of Protestants is concerned in obtaining redress. In cases of churches or schools, whole communities are interested. When preachers are hindered from visiting the sick, or attending malefactors, can the dead complain of the injury? Have other private persons a right to complain? Must not therefore redress be impossible, unless claimed by the whole body? Shall peasants, who groan under a bigotted heritable jurisdiction, and are disabled by their poverty, or intimidated from complaining, remain without relief? Many grievances arise from the decrees of magistrates, the edicts of the royal council, and the decisions of counties or cities. Against such injuries, committed by public persons vested with authority, complaints from private persons would neither be decent nor safe.

Though these complaints were favourably received, yet, in the year 1776, no alteration has happened in consequence of them, except as to building of churches, and representations in the common name of the Protestants, which last are granted only as favours of the court, not as privileges justly claimed, and legally secured.

NUM-

NUMBER VIII.

On the DANGER *hanging over the* PROTESTANT CHURCHES *from* POPERY *as* ANTICHRISTIAN.

From H. VENEMA'S *4th Academic Oration*, at the end of his *Prælectiones de Methodo Prophetica Leovardiæ*, 1775, 4to.

§ 1. I WAS led to this subject by the great Vitringa. At the end of his *Methodus homiletica*, he addresses his scholars, to warn the congregations which may be intrusted to their care, of the abominations of the church of Rome; to exhort them to put on that armour of God whereby they may be able to stand, if that church should bring on Protestants the trials which scripture and present circumstances make probable; and to implore our heavenly Father, so far as his wisdom and justice permits, to avert or mitigate the storm.

An important advice; for it is the part of a wise man, to foresee and to prepare for calamities, in so far as scripture has pointed them out. I have shown, in former orations, that the antichristianism of the church of Rome, did not properly commence with her corruptions in doctrine and worship, and falling from the faith, in the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, or with that gross wickedness and profanity of the Popes for almost 150 years in the 10th & 11th centuries, which so justly entitled them to the name of men of sin; but rather from their becoming sons of perdition, A. D. 1073—1083, under Hildebrand or Gregory VII, the greater founder of papal omnipotence, and assumer of the power of deposing

poſing princes who would not ſubmit to his decrees as the laws of heaven. From that time to the reformation, theſe pretended rights were ſupported; and the pure worſhippers of Chriſt were oppoſed by the moſt horrid methods of deceit and violence. This reign of Antichriſt, which has been interrupted by the reformation, I am now to prove, ſhall be again reſtored, and exert its utmoſt force, though for a ſhort ſeaſon, and to its own utter ruin; or, in other words, that a new and cruel, though ſhort perſecution of Proteſtants by the church of Rome, is yet future.

§ 2. *Rev.* vi. 9—11, repreſents three different periods. One paſt, in which the martyrs had been ſlain during the antichriſtian reign from Gregory VII. to the reformation. The ſecond period, in which the ſouls of theſe martyrs, clothed in white robes, cry for vengeance on their perſecutors, but are told, they muſt wait, till their fellow martyrs alſo were ſlain. This ſuppoſes freedom from perſecution, though not vengeance on their enemies. The third period is that, in which, after the ſlaying of their fellow-ſervants, vengeance ſhall fall on their perſecutors. The fifth ſeal therefore repreſents a period, in which, though the Proteſtant churches enjoy liberty, they are warned, that the perſecutions which their forefathers ſuffered, would be renewed before the final deſtruction of Antichriſt.

Thoſe who had come out of great tribulations, *Rev.* vii. 13, cannot mean the martyrs in the firſt antichriſtian period, becauſe they could not be unknown to John, having been ſhown him in the former viſion, and becauſe they are not repreſented as ſlain, but as having come out of great tribulation.

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The epiſtle to the church of Philadelphia, *Rev.* iii. 10, ſpeaks of an hour of tribulation, which was to come on the whole world, to try the inhabitants of the earth; and Chriſt threatens, *Rev.* iii. 16, that he would ſpue the lukewarm Laodiceans out of his mouth.

The ſixth trumpet reſpects the laſt effort of Antichriſt againſt the Proteſtant churches, *Rev.* xi. 1—13, when the outer-court of the temple was to be trodden down by the Gentiles three years and a half, during which time the illuſtrious witneſſes were to oppoſe Antichriſt, who were then to be ſlain by the beaſt ariſing out of the depth, but were ſoon to ariſe again, which reſurrection was to be followed by the deſtruction of Antichriſt. Antichriſt treading under foot the principal Proteſtant churches as to their external form, was to continue, as Antiochus Epiphanes's profanation of the temple did, for 1260 days, 42 months, or three years and a half. There is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that theſe days mean years; for days, months, and years, are clearly diſtinguiſhed in this book.

To this period, if not all, the greater part of the plagues to be poured out from the vials upon Antichriſt, *Rev.* xvi, refer. For they are not only termed the laſt plagues, but are evidently thoſe which are to be inflicted by the two witneſſes, *Rev.* xi. 5, 6. Before, however, the laſt plague to be inflicted by the heroes whom God was to raiſe up for the deſtruction of Antichriſt, the princes of the earth, excited by the Popiſh clergy, eſpecially by the monks, repreſented as frogs creeping into the palaces of kings, ſhould, with united violence, attack the church of Chriſt; ſo that then, in a particular manner, the godly would need to keep their garments, *i. e.* to preſerve faith and a good conſcience, leſt the terrible perſe-

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cution then raging, ſhould tempt them to apoſtaſy.

Rev. xiv. After the angel preaching the everlaſting goſpel, or the reformers, another angel appears, who threatens the moſt dreadful puniſhment againſt thoſe who, moved by his threats or flatteries, ſhould apoſtatize to Antichriſt; and then adds, " this is the patience of the ſaints. Bleſſed are the dead, who die in the Lord from this time." In this period, when the church ſeemed on the brink of ruin, God would raiſe up heroes, to repel, with armed force, the attacks of Antichriſt, and to inflict on him the judgments repreſented by the harveſt and the vintage.

Rev. xvii. exhibits a new beaſt, which by its ten horns or ten kings, ſhould make war with the lamb and the ſaints, but be overcome, being deſerted and deſtroyed by theſe very kings.

Old Teſtament prophecies ſuppoſe, that firſt remarkable degeneracy, and then a grievous perſecution of the church, would precede the glory of the later days. See *Iſ.* lviii—lx. *Dan.* xii. *Zech.* xiv. I might obſerve, that the perſecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, was a kind of type of that of Antichriſt; and that hitherto the triumphs of the church have been after heavy perſecutions, *e. g.* in the time of Conſtantine, and at the reformation.

§ 3. The preſent ſtate of the Popiſh and Proteſtant churches, confirm theſe remarks. 1. Popery remains the prevailing religion in Europe, and has fortified herſelf againſt all the attempts of Proteſtants to diminiſh her numbers, by the multitude, wealth and power of her clergy, and monaſtic orders; by claims of infallibility; by political and religious connexions with princes; by cheriſhing ignorance and ſuperſtition among the people;

people; by indulging the members of their own church in easy methods of salvation; and by cruelly punishing Protestants as apostates and rebels, with imprisonment, banishment, and the shocking tortures of the inquisition. So that the head wounded by the reformation, seems in the way of being healed, as is foretold *Rev.* xiii. 3.

2. Add to this the multitude of Roman Catholics in Britain, Holland, Prussia, and other Protestant countries, eager to seize every opportunity for regaining their lost ascendancy and influence, and at the beck of a foreign lord at Rome, the irreconcileable foe of the faith of the rulers and people among whom they reside. What may not be dreaded from a religion which sanctifies rebellion, if for the interest of their church?

3. Popery has made many new acquisitions in the last and present century. The number of Protestants has been diminished by persecution in France, Bohemia, Poland, &c. Many princes, even of the families which were the chief supports of the reformation, have become Popish; and many states, by right of succession, have fallen under the government of Roman Catholics.

4. The further perversion of Protestants is to be dreaded, not only from the exertions of the society *de propaganda fide* erected at Rome in the last century, and of Popish emissaries and seminaries in different parts, but from the more refined and virtuous manners of many of the Popish clergy; the reformation of different monastic orders, and of various abuses gradually introduced; the various arts of turning away attention from the strongest supports of Protestantism, and of varnishing over what is most absurd and shocking in Popery; and appeals to the divisions of Pro-

teſtants, and to their allowing the poſſibility of ſalvation in the Popiſh church.

5. The ſpirit which appeared in the church of Rome before the Reformation, of ſpreading and ſupporting their religion by fraud and violence, has not ceaſed in later times. See *Weismann Hist. Ecl. ſæc.* 17. *p.* 778. I will mention ſome proofs of this. The bull *cœnæ domini*, every year ſolemnly pronounced againſt heretics; the continuance of the tribunal of the inquiſition in many countries; the perſecution which deprived Proteſtants of the free exerciſe of their religion in Bohemia, Moravia, and Auſtria, and occaſioned the laying waſte the Palatinate, and the dreadful thirty years war in Germany; the Iriſh maſſacre 1651, where 200,000 Proteſtants were ſlain; the ſufferings of the Piedmonteſe 1632, 1655, and 1687, and of the Hungarians 1671 and 1681; the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and the conſequent perſecution of the French Proteſtants 1684 and 1685; the gun-powder plot, under James I. of England; the many grievances of the German Proteſtants, and infringement of their rights, to afford a pretext for which, a clauſe was artfully added by the Roman Catholics, in the 4th article of the treaty of Ryſwick; the oppreſſion of ſome in the Palatinate, and the baniſhment of others, on account of the eightieth queſtion of the Heidelberg Catechiſm; the obliging, by cruel perſecution, thirty thouſand in the archbiſhopric of Saltzburg to leave their country, 1731; the ſufferings which obliged many to fly from Bohemia, 1728; and two hundred churches taken from the Proteſtants in Hungary, from 1730 to 1733. What the reformed in Poland and Lithuania ſuffered, appears from their ſupplication to the King and ſtates, 1718. The Thorn maſſacre, 1724,

1724, is well-known. What Protestants in France suffered under Lewis XV, may be learned from *Le Patriot François & Impartial*, 1751; and what in Piedmont, from the intercessory letters of the King of Prussia, 1725 and 1731. See *P. Gilles Hist. Wald. c.* 48, and *Martinet's History of the Waldenses*, in Dutch.

6. Twice, in the last century, Protestantism was on the brink of ruin, by Popish counsels and arms: first, when the plans of Ferdinand II. were blasted by Gustavus Adolphus; and afterwards, when those of Lewis XIV. and James II. were disappointed by the Prince of Orange.

7. The works of Baronius and Bellarmine, and in later times, those of Maimburg and Bossuet, represent Protestants as men of inconstant and varying principles, and enemies of all religion; so that it was the duty and interest of princes, to exert their utmost endeavours for rooting out the Northern heresy. Even Jansenius, under the feigned name of Armachanus, in a book published 1636, pronounces Protestantism worse than the religion of Jews, Heathens, and Mahometans, and therefore nowhere to be tolerated, but by every means to be destroyed. The Archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, justly observed, in his letter to the Protestants of the Palatinate, &c. 1720, that nothing save want of power hindered the Popes from venting their deadly hatred in the destruction of every Protestant.——If any object to this, the solemn promises and treaties by which Protestants are secured in the free exercise of their religion, let them consider how basely these have been violated, in France, Piedmont, Germany, Hungary, and Poland; and that Popes protested against the lawfulness and validity of some of these treaties, *e. g.* the peace of Westphalia.

Nor ſhould we forget the doctrine of not keeping faith with heretics, which, the Spaniards honeſtly acknowledge, was determined by the Council of Conſtance; and the Papal claims of power, to diſpenſe with, or to annul obligations oppoſite to the good of the church. Innocent III. looſed the ſubjects of Raimond, a favourer of the Albigenſes, from their oath of allegiance, aſſigning this reaſon, that, by the canonical ſanctions of the fathers, faith was not to be kept with him, who did not keep the faith of God. Cardinal Hoſius exhorted Henry King of Poland to pay no regard to what he had promiſed to heretics, becauſe an oath can never bind to what is unjuſt. The Canon Wendecius, in a book, *De hereſibus extirpandis*, publiſhed 1620 with the Emperor's privilege, was impudent enough to ſay, that Catholics ſometimes treated with ſectaries, only that other buſineſs might be diſpatched, and that then they might war and turn their whole force againſt them.

§ 4. The ſtate of Proteſtants increaſes their danger. In many countries, ſuch as Germany, France, Poland, &c. their ſtrength is weakened, their boundaries narrowed, and their numbers diminiſhed. The many ſects into which they are divided, their fierce contentions and bitter hatred, the decay of genuine piety, the growth of atheiſm and infidelity among ſome, and of hypocriſy, lukewarmneſs, fanaticiſm, diſſipation and profligacy among others, are alarming ſymptoms. See *Weismann Hist. Eccl. ſæc.* 17. *p.* 1271, and *Heideggeri Myſterium Babylonis, tom.* 2. *p.* 811. Would it be any wonder that God ſhould employ his fan to purge his flour of ſo much chaff? and that a vine ſo cultivated, bringing forth wild grapes, ſhould be laid waſte; that profeſſors biting and devouring

devouring ſhould be conſumed one of another; and that they who adopt the ſpirit of Antichriſt ſhould ſhare of his plagues? Such were the mutual envyings, reproaches and quarrels of Chriſtians, when Diocleſian's perſecution commenced.

§ 5. Papiſts, who err in determining who is Antichriſt, yet agree with Chriſtians in all ages, that Antichriſt, before the end of the world, was to rage for a ſhort time againſt the diſciples of Chriſt. Uſher, who gave different ſpecimens of a prophetic ſpirit, believed, that a cruel perſecution by Papiſts was hanging over the Proteſtant churches. See *Bernardi vitam Usserii, p.* 79. *Hoseus* entertained the ſame ſentiment, *Bibl. Brem. cl.* 2. *p.* 521; and *Heidegger Myst. Babyl. tom* 2. *p.* 232. *Weismann*, a learned and modeſt Lutheran divine, *Hist. Eccl. sec.* 17. *p.* 749, ſays, that it much concerns us to think, if God is not reſerving a powerful enemy as the inſtruments of his vengeance on degenerate and unfruitful Proteſtants, who have ſo baſely abuſed their many privileges and advantages. But the preciſe ſeaſon of theſe calamities, and the places to which they ſhall extend, it is not for us to determine. Nonnen, in his excellent oration *de signis temporum, Bremæ*, 1744, ſays, he has collected three hundred and ſixty opinions, of which three hundred were at that time confuted by the event.

§ 6. Yet there are circumſtances which make it leſs wonderful, that the kings of the earth, after having aſſiſted Antichriſt in chaſtiſing the Proteſtant churches, ſhould deſtroy his authority and power. With whatever reſpect Popiſh princes treat the perſon of the Pope, they diſregard his authority, eſpecially in political matters, and deſpiſe his bulls of excommunication; whence that engine of power is now ſeldom uſed. Many of the

the wiser and better Catholics now despise the worship of saints, images, and relics, and detest the propagating religion by fraud or violence. The present Catholic princes in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, Hungary, and Poland, turn a deaf ear to the clergy, who would excite them to persecute heretics. Societies for propagating the gospel, and the intercourse of Christians with heathens and Mahometans, are probably preparing the way for that general conversion of Jews and Gentiles, which will not take place till after the destruction of Antichrist. The dreadful divisions, and incurable corruption of manners both among Protestants and Papists, make it probable, that the judgments to begin at the house of God are not distant. Though grosser vices may be less common among the Popish clergy than they were before the Council of Trent, they are as much addicted as ever to pride, avarice, envy, malice, hypocrisy, and other spiritual wickednesses. Many, for political reasons, appear Christians, who in heart are deists, or even atheists. To this I might add, that many things seem to be paving the way for a happier state of the church; for instance, the growth of useful knowledge and learning. Religion hath been better defended against atheists, deists, and sceptics, than in any former period; the reasonableness of liberty of conscience is more generally acknowledged; faith in the Redeemer, and love to God and to our neighbour, have been illustrated and recommended; and the motives and means of restraining sin, and advancing in holiness, have been treated with greater accuracy and judgment. When tares are rooted out of the church by divine judgments, it is to be hoped, that these seeds of purity and perfection will bring forth abundant fruit.

§ 7.

§ 7. How much is it to be wished, that Protestant princes would cultivate a closer and firmer union, in order to detect and resist the designs of their common foe, and would take the precautions, in intervals of peace, which may enable them, when the enemy shall come in like a flood, to lift up a banner against him; so that if calamities cannot be avoided, they may be properly endured, and the church, through the power and grace of God, may finally triumph over her persecutors! O that all would open to Jesus, while yet he stands at the door and knocks, and would return to the fervent pursuit of truth and holiness, that they may be preserved from falling in the day of tribulation which shall come upon the whole earth! Seeing the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, let us not sleep as do others, but let us watch, and be sober. Possess your souls in patience, and sink not in despondency, through anxious fears of evil days. Christ, the apostles, many of both sexes, and many of every age, have travelled the rough and thorny paths of suffering and persecution. Remember those who have proved faithful in the cause of Christ; and, if called in Providence, imitate what you admire. Be strong in the Lord. Forget not, that the fiery trial which awaits the church shall be of short continuance, and issue in her great and lasting prosperity. And while ministers warn their hearers to provide for a day of trial, let them do it with prudence and caution, which may prevent disturbing the peace of state and church. While they hate an antichristian persecuting spirit, let them distinguish between this, and the errors and superstitions of Popery, which rather call for their pity; and let them remember, there is an inconsistency in the one with

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the very essentials of Christian faith and holiness, and with the safety and peace of society; while Papists, who know not the depths of Satan, and have not imbibed that antichristian spirit, may be saved, though so as by fire. Persecutions have often issued in purifying the church, and the increase of her honour. The grace of the Spirit can guide in that thorny path, support under the heaviest sufferings, and make the Christian more than a conqueror.

NUM-

NUMBER IX.

SENTIMENTS *of* EMINENT ENGLISH CHURCHMEN *and* DISSENTERS, *respecting the* DANGERS *to which* PROTESTANT PRINCES *and* STATES *are exposed by* POPISH PRINCIPLES.

From TH. SHERLOCK'S *Sermon before the* Lord Mayor, *5th November*, Lond. 1712.

P. 10. WHENEVER men's religion or conscience come to shew themselves in practice, they fall under the cognisance of the civil power; or, whenever they break out into principles destructive of the civil government, they are then ripe for the civil sword, and may justly be rooted out. Upon these principles, I presume, there have been many penal laws enacted against Popery in this kingdom; not on the weak supposition that no man's conscience ever led him to be a Papist, but upon this known and experienced truth, that whenever a man's conscience leads him to be a Papist, it leads him to be an enemy to the constitution of this government; and therefore, the government has a right to secure itself against the practices of a professed enemy, by the terror of temporal punishment, notwithstanding the pleas of conscience and religion.

P. 11. I would fain know how the subject's conscience can bind the magistrate's power from acting in its proper sphere, which is, to prevent all growing dangers to the state.

P. 14. It may perhaps be thought by some, that I have been pleading all this while for the magistrate's right to persecute the subject on account of religion: and so I have, if there be any religion

religion which indispensably obliges men to disturb the public peace, to pervert the ways of justice, to be injurious to their brethren, &c.

P. 15. The reason of the case extends as well to doctrines as to practices. The magistrate has a right to suppress all such as are pernicious to the state. In Queen Elizabeth's time, there were some who maintained as a point of religion, the unlawfulness of women's government. Should the doctrine be revived at this day, I imagine that the plea of religion would not atone for the malignancy of the opinion.—What has been said, may serve to mark out to us the just limits of spiritual and civil power. The ministers of Christ are not of this world, and therefore they have no right to extend their Master's kingdom, by the exercise of worldly or temporal power. The civil magistrate is of this world, and the affairs of it are his proper care, from which he ought not to be excluded by any pretences or pleas of religion. When men build upon religion, doctrines or practices destructive of civil government, they must answer to God for perverting religion, and to the magistrate for disturbing the public.

From Bishop HOADLEY's *Preservative against the Non-Jurors.* 4th edit. Lond. 1717.

P. 14. They themselves are forced to allow, that in cases of natural continued folly or madness, none of these texts oblige a nation to personal obedience. Nor can they themselves deny, but that the directions laid down in Scripture were only general rules, designed for the use of such as were so weak as to think themselves exempt from all government, and not at all with any view of binding down whole Christian nations to

to utter destruction.—P. 15. The homilies do not put the case of lunacy or idiocy in a prince. Ask them, therefore, doth what they say absolutely conclude for personal allegiance, and against the coercion of a regency in such a case? If not, as they allow; here is a demonstration that the doctrine, however expressed, is not absolute; and consequently, in cases which equally affect the business of government, equally admits of an exception.

P. 17. The end of government is acknowledged the sufficient only reason for setting aside lunatics or idiots; and therefore, the same end of government holds equally in all parallel cases.

P. 18. A prince fully possessed by the Popish religion, is under the command of principles which teach him that it is his duty to destroy us.

P. 20. The same religion which obligeth to our destruction, permits and engages its votaries to swear and promise the contrary.

P. 30. Whatever is necessary to the preservation of a civil government, or to the hinderance of its destruction, is included in the notion of it. But, to hinder effectually its professed enemies from praying to God for its destruction, and instructing their hearers in what leads and obligeth them to ruin it, is absolutely necessary for its preservation. Therefore, this is included in the very notion of civil government.

P. 37. A right in any civil power, is an insignificant absurdity, without including in it a right to defend that right from all its enemies.

P. 39. Whatever affects the civil power, let it be in its first origin never so much of an ecclesiastical or religious nature; though esteemed an article or duty of religion by those who embrace it; this makes no difference: If it directly and

plainly affects the civil power, it becomes a matter of a civil nature, and, in the eye of the civil power, can be looked upon as no other.—For instance, it was a matter of a religious nature to those who embraced that wild notion, that the temporal kingdom of Jesus Christ was to be set up by their force; but to the civil power, threatened and attacked by this, it was as much a matter of a civil nature, as the setting up one of themselves in open rebellion would have been.

From Dr Sherlock's *Answer to a Letter by* Dr Sykes, *relating to his Sermon, 5th November* 1712. Lond. 1715.

P. 20. Negative discouragements are not meant as instruments of persuasion to those who dissent from the church; but merely as a security to the church from those who would destroy it. Is there no difference between forcing a man to join with you, and hindering him from hurting you? Is it persecution not to trust a man with power to injure yourself? This is the only use of negative discouragements; and it is a very right one. They are no more instruments of persuasion, than locks and bolts are instruments of making men honest, because they serve to shut the door against such as would come in to spoil you of your goods.

From Mr Sykes's *Second Letter to* Dr Sherlock.

P. 37. The magistrate ought not to set a mark upon men for their opinions, unless their opinions be inconsistent with the safety of the public.

From

From J. Hall's *Thanksgiving Sermon on the Victory at Culloden, 9th October 1746.*

P. 20. If, for the punishment of our sins, success had attended the wicked and perfidious attempt of setting the long abjured Popish Pretender upon the throne of these realms, we may justly presume that nothing would then have satisfied the ambitious views of France, without bringing these kingdoms under the heavy bondage of her tyranny and oppression; nor have answered the cruel designs of Rome, but the utter extirpation of the Protestant religion, even though this could not have been effected in any other way but by a fiery persecution, or a bloody massacre.

From T. Gibbons's *Sermon on the same Occasion.*

P. 13. Our pure and undefiled religion must have been wrested out of our hands, if the rebellion had been successful; and in the room of it, the Romish faith, with all its unsizeable monsters of indulgences, infallibility, and transubstantiation, must have been obtruded upon our consciences. Nor would the promises of a Popish prince have been any security to us; for our nation has had sufficient experience of what little regard Papists bear to their promises, in the instances of Queen Mary and the late King James, who both broke their most solemn declarations, and levied the most barbarous persecutions and cruel oppressions upon the Protestants. And what other conduct can be expected, when that old idol at Rome, trampling over the remonstrances of conscience, the laws of God, and the rights of nations, audaciously declares to the world, that faith is not to be kept with heretics?——P. 14.

Nor is it at all unlikely, but that, on some high festival in the Romish calendar, a general massacre of the Protestants would have been ordained and executed in its full vengeance, for the old arrears due to our long revolt from the Popish tyranny: And perhaps the inquisition, at once the emblem and engine of hell, would have been set up among us, where all the wantonness of torture would have been practised upon our bodies; and at last, we being delivered up into the hands of the secular power, which is by much the kindest, must have been burnt at the stake.

Hugh Farmer, in his sermon on the same occasion, p. 8. and 9., speaking of the consequences of the success of the rebellion:—We might have already taken our last leave of our liberty, of our bibles, and of the sanctuary of God; have had our minds terrified and almost distracted with the view of a shipwrecked conscience on the one hand, and of fire and faggots, Popish rack and tortures, on the other: and, had God endued us with courage to resist even unto blood—yet your beloved children!—how sad would their case have been!—If our enemies, in the wantonness of their cruelty, had not put them to death in the sight of their parents, they would certainly have reserved them (which a good man must esteem a greater evil) as the instruments of their lust; or taught them to serve wood and stone; to worship a wafer as their God and Saviour; to trust in idol mediators; vainly to seek heaven by slight penances and barefoot pilgrimages; to divest themselves of the mild and heavenly spirit of the gospel, and to put on the rage and cruelties of Popery.

P. 20.

P. 20. During our late troubles, excited in favour of Popery, and a Popish pretender, many were justly sensible that we had lost much of our former horror of the Papal superstition, and that we had been too negligent in opposing its growth; that while we were asleep, the enemy were busy in sowing tares; and that it was necessary, therefore, to be more on our guard for the future. I would put such in mind of the necessity of acting suitably to the conviction of things they then had; of taking all opportunities of convincing men, that Popery is the same impious, idolatrous, absurd, and cruel superstition as it ever was; that it owes all its support to ignorance and violence; begets hypocrisy and atheism; and, in proportion to the effect it has on the tempers of those who believe it, it must make them regardless of the authority of God, the intercession of the Redeemer, and the interest of true piety and goodness; and inspire them with a perfidious and merciless disposition. Describe the ghastly forms in which Popish tyranny appears abroad, especially where the court of inquisition sits in triumph, supporting idolatry, terrifying true religion, condemning the professors of it to an ignominious death, and to everlasting flames. This kingdom itself can witness that Popery tortures, burns, and devotes to damnation, those who act up steadily to the light and conviction of their consciences, who will not profess, contrary to reason, scripture, and their very senses, that a bit of bread is both God and man, and that the Creator is made and devoured by his creatures. These things speak in season and out of season. Put into the hands of the poor such books as are fitted to give them a true idea, and inspire them with a just contempt and abhorrence of this blind and

barbarous superstition; and do not too readily despair of winning some from it by the evidence of truth and a friendly deportment.

From Dr John Allen's *Sermon on the same Occasion.*

P. 7. If this rebellion had succeeded, and a Papist had been fixed on the throne, under such an one, what security in the earth could we have had for our religion and liberties? Such an one would be naturally inclined, nay, he is in conscience, and upon pain of damnation, obliged to use his utmost endeavours to extirpate them; consequently, the more he is a man of conscience, so much the worse king must he be to a Protestant people, and the more have we to fear from him.

P. 11. What had been the case, if Popery had come in upon us? The use of our bibles would soon have been forbidden to us, our temples would have been shut up, and, instead of the pure word and institutions of the gospel, we must have taken the law from the mouth of a sorry priest: all the monstrous doctrines of that most corrupt communion must have been believed; all its gross superstition and idolatry must have been practised; and all the fopperies of its worship attended upon. No matter how much common sense recoiled at these things; no matter how contrary they appeared to our understandings instructed out of the word of God: Common sense would have been carnal reasoning; our interpretations of the scripture would have been heresy; and, instead of arguing with us for our conviction, fire and faggot must have been our instructors; the flames of Smithfield would have been

been lighted up again; and this Protestant kingdom must have been once more such a scene of blood as it was in the days of Popish Queen Mary. Look over the English martyrologies, read the history of the hellish inquisition, think of the massacres of Paris and Ireland: all these are only the arts of Popery to support and propagate her cause. When she has made herself drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, she has thought she has been doing God good service, she has been but acting in her true spirit, and agreeably to her professed principles.

From Dr S. Chandler's *Sermon on the same Occasion*.

P. 26. Our foreign enemies are nations of slaves, and such as, upon a religious account, would have thought they did God good service in shedding our blood, and offering us up as whole burnt-offerings on his altar; nations that persecute our Protestant brethren with the most exquisite and unrelenting cruelty, whose superstition hath extinguished all humanity in them, and who have solemnly vowed to extirpate the northern heresy.

P. 29. speaking of the Popes.—Who have wickedly absolved subjects from their oaths of allegiance to their earthly princes; have defended and sanctified murders, and consecrated into saints villains, that have or would have embrued their hands in their Sovereign's blood; who have sung hallelujahs for national massacres, and, with an impiety never to be paralleled, dared to affront the Majesty of heaven, by offering solemn thanksgivings for the bloody butcheries of thousands and ten thousands, in cool blood, of innocent and defenceless

lefs men and women, guilty of no crime, but their refusal to submit to their ungodly usurpations.

P. 30. speaking of the consequences of the Pretender's success.—Oh! what goodly blessings would one, thus tutored from his infancy, introduce with him, and make us the happy partakers of! In spirituals, unity of faith in falsehood and lies, and unity of worship in monstrous and Pagan superstitions; priestly power, superior to all laws human and divine; the wholesome discipline of ecclesiastical severity in dragoonings, galleys, jails, racks, gibbets, fire and faggot; the very extraordinary curiosities of breaden Gods, that you can devour as soon as you have coloured, baked, and created them; sumptuous altars, and sacrifices never heard of but in that wonder-working church, sacrifices of their very Gods for the living and for the dead, &c. And a little after, p. 31. —Auricular confessions to ease and purge your consciences, and disburden them of all their guilt; priestly absolution, that sure and last resort of impenitent sinners; superabounding merits to be applied to you for the price of your silver and gold; and the prevailing intercessions of angels and saints, to make up the want of merit and power in the Saviour; *Ave Marias* in the room of prayer to Almighty God; ceremonies of all kinds to release you from the more difficult and ungrateful services of real piety and virtue; various penances to make satisfaction for your offences; kind indulgences for all your own and your friends crimes, past, present, and a thousand years to come; purgatory to bleach, whiten and cleanse you, if you have been defective in repentance and reformation; masses for your soul to quicken your deliverance out of it; and the sacred viaticum in your mouths at your departure,

that

that the celestial porter may ken you by the token, and open the gates of heaven to you, when he sees you bring your God with you for the warrant of your admission! Oh how edifying to your souls will all these doctrines, practices, and privileges be! how expeditious a way will they show you to salvation and eternal glory! how cheap the purchase of all these mighty blessings, when they ask you nothing in exchange for them, but your bibles, your souls, your consciences, your reason, your common sense, and all your liberties as men and christians!

P. 36. Need Protestants every day to be reminded of what they have been so often told, that the most solemn oaths to maintain the Protestant religion and liberties are *ipso facto* void, and declared to be so, and they that take them absolved from them, by the supreme authority of the sovereign pontiff? All that know the true spirit of Popery know, that it never can or will keep any terms or faith with heretics; and that it never ceases or remits its most mortal enmity to the Protestant cause.

From Dr E. LATHAM's *Sermon on the same Occasion.*

P. 13. The idle pretence, that their prince had no religion, and therefore would not spoil us of ours, was a low way of reasoning, that could only impose on those who were really in that case themselves; who had nothing to lose, and therefore nothing to fear on that head: for, should all they suggest be allowed, the more natural inference is, that he would not suffer us to have any, or one (in some views of it) worse than none, I mean that wherein he was educated. It is certain, Atheists of the Roman cast which abound in

in Italy, from whence he came, have in fact turned out the greatest persecutors; for, having no restraint on them from honour and conscience, they are prepared to go all the lengths of that church in the acts of cruelty, and in interest obliged to do it, as the creatures of that polity. But thanks be to God, who has not put us to this hard trial, and given us fatal conviction that Popery, under every disguise, is still the same.

From Dr Jo. MILNER's *Sermon on the same Occasion.*

P. 21. There is no honour, no force in the promises of Papists to Protestants, because it is their avowed principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics. The council of Constance declared for this; and Clement XI. decreed all stipulations, compacts, and covenants made with the Protestants in Germany by the Emperor, void and of no effect. *Ep. & Brev.* Rom. 1724, *t.* 2. *p.* 179. *Act. Er.* Lipf. 1727, *p.* 199.——*Ib.* Not. 5. We have a flagrant instance of this in the French King's letters, when he supported the Pretender's invasion 1708. In one letter that was to come abroad into the world, he has this flattering passage: " His subjects (meaning us) will be only " distinguished according to the zeal and affec- " tion they express for him (the Pretender), with- " out examining what religion they profess, in " which he leaves them their entire liberty." In another letter to the Pope, his inward friend, he speaks more openly. " A design so just in itself, " and so advantageous to our holy faith; the aim " and rule of all our actions." And a little further, " the success whereof will be so advantage- " ous by the union of that kingdom (Scotland) " to our holy mother the church," &c.

From

From H. Moore's *Sermon on the ſame Occaſion.*

P. 19, 20. The unrelenting taſk-maſters of Rome, are never to be ſatisfied, till they have made a property of our eſtates and poſſeſſions, our faith and religion, our conſciences and our ſouls; and leave thoſe that lie at their mercy no other choice, but to ſubmit their necks to their grievous yoke, and arbitrary deciſions; or to expire under the tortures of the moſt cruel death: And it is a folly for any to think, that we ſhould have been more gently dealt with than our forefathers were heretofore, or our Proteſtant brethren have been abroad; for the ſpirit of Popery is always the ſame, can never change its nature, and will never fail to produce the ſame direful effects, wherever it has an opportunity to diſplay itſelf in its proper colours. As ignorance and darkneſs is the mother of all their devotions; contradiction and nonſenſe, the matters of their belief; the vileſt ſervitude and moſt unreſerved obedience, the meaſure of their conduct: ſo will perſecution and violence, racks and tortures, fire and faggot, death and deſtruction, always be the means and inſtruments of their converſions. Good God! is this the religion that we muſt have exchanged, for the mild and gentle, the ſweet and peaceable, the pure and perfect inſtitution of the Bleſſed Jeſus? What! to degrade ourſelves into brutes and monſters, in order to become Chriſtians? to transform ourſelves into the very image of the devil, before we could have admiſſion into the houſehold of faith? to be obliged to extinguiſh every ſentiment of humanity in our natures, before we could be qualified for the bleſſings of the goſpel?

From

From Dr Chandler's *Fast Sermon on the Signs of the Times, 16th February* 1759.

P. 34, 35. It hath been frequently lamented by the friends of the Protestant religion and liberties, of all denominations, that there are numerous converts continually gaining over to Popery, and indefatigable pains taken, by the nobility, gentry, and priests of the Romish communion, to proselyte the subjects of these kingdoms to that antichristian and intolerant superstition. But who is there that applies himself to correct this grievance, or prevent the increase of it? Protestants themselves employ even foreign Popish servants, and thereby increase among us the number of them that hate us; and Papists are suffered to employ British Protestant ones, the more easily and effectually to corrupt their principles, and prepare them for every opportunity to enslave and ruin us; whilst their priests flock over from abroad, in large numbers, walk about seeking whom they can devour, and draw after them many of the ignorant and unwary by falsehood and imposture. And yet the laws are asleep: the magistrate pays little or no regard to it. The authorised overseers of the church have their reasons, no doubt, for their silence, and making few or no public remonstrances against it. The pastors of the flock seem generally to neglect it. The great ones are too many of them indifferent what religion is uppermost, as every religion is equal to them that have none. The men of pleasure will have their gratifications, and cannot be much displeased with a religion that will promise them security in their vices. The men of business are too much employed in other affairs, to mind those of any church. Those who would gladly

gladly ſtand in oppoſition to this growing evil, have no encouragement or power; and thus the field is left open for the wolves to enter, and lay waſte the flock without mercy and oppoſition: And will there not be room for fear, whilſt this ſymptom of fatal danger remains in the midſt of us? an evil, which in every increaſe of it, tends to undermine the foundation of our whole conſtitution, increaſes the enemies of our king and country, and prepares the way for the utter ſubverſion of all our religious and civil liberties.

From Dr JORTIN's *4th Charge, 9th May* 1770, *Sermons, vol. 7. p.* 449.

Their writers aſſure us, that they are now grown much more mild and moderate, and have none of the ferocity and cruelty which was the temper of former times, and that they condemn perſecution for a mere diverſity of religious ſentiments. They may ſay ſo: and they muſt be fools who believe them. It is probable enough that among their laity their are ſeverals who diſlike all ſanguinary methods of ſupporting their religion; but it is becauſe they do not fully underſtand their own eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, into the very contexture of which perſecution is ſo cloſely woven, that nothing can ſeparate it. Upon blood it was built, and by blood it muſt be ſupported. Toleration and liberty of conſcience would infallibly undermine and deſtroy it. In this preſent century, and in our own times, there have been cruel examples of Popiſh intoleration and perſecution, ſufficient to warn us what we are to expect from them.

NUMBER X.

THOUGHTS *by the* Publisher *on the Mutual Influence of* POPERY *and* INFIDELITY, *and on the* DANGERS *to which* PROTESTANTISM *now is, or hereafter probably may be exposed.*

THE zeal which many in Scotland, both clergy and laity, discovered against the celebrated Popish bill, has, by some of boasted candour, been stamped with the opprobrious name of fanaticism. The reproach would have been deserved, had that zeal been kindled only by doctrinal errors, however opposite to scriptural christianity. But the accusers ought to have known, that it originated, from the dangerous consequences to society, of those intolerant principles, and that maxim of not keeping faith with heretics, which the Romish church has never renounced. The accused are not ashamed to entertain the sentiments, which the most eminent dignitaries of the church of England, and the ablest dissenting clergymen, have often expressed *. It happens, that in Germany, the keenest and most spirited writer against Popery, professes to hate fanaticism as inveterately as those in Scotland do, who are loudest and boldest in advancing against the innocent that contemptuous charge. I mean the learned traveller and literary journalist Nicolai. Though he brands none with that stigma for opposing Popery, he censures as fanaticism the thus opposing the opinions of the new reformers, and maintaining the doctrines, in which, till the middle of this century, the German Lutherans and Calvinists

* See the preceding Number.

vinists were generally united. According to Nicolai, the chief declaimer in Scotland against fanaticism, is himself a fanatic, because he has subscribed and preached the doctrines of the Westminster confession: and according to that clergyman, Nicolai is a fanatic, because he thinks Popery is not yet become gentle and harmless.

Extremes, not unfrequently, produce one another; and, avoiding one danger, men are easily betrayed into another.

Popery tends to prejudice men of thought and education against Christianity; and therefore infidelity has some apology in France, which she cannot plead in Britain and in the Protestant parts of Germany. When men hear, that it is not lawful for the laity, with whatever genius, judgment, and talents God has endued them, to examine the truth of revelation, and that they ought to rest their faith on the authority and decisions of the Pope, it is natural to suspect the honesty of teachers, who mightily extol the excellency of a religion, which yet they seem conscious cannot endure a strict survey. A purchaser thinks not highly of a commodity, which he is not allowed to see before buying it. When Popish divines exaggerate the difficulties of acquiring conviction in the way of examination, they thus encourage scepticism and infidelity. If the alleged difficulties do not subvert the evidences of Christianity, and can be solved, a Protestant may solve them as well as the man at Rome, who calls himself infallible; for the solving of a difficulty requires genius and learning, not infallibility. But if they cannot be solved, Deists have some excuse for rejecting Christianity. Besides, the external face of Popery is unfavourable to the faith of the gospel. Prayers in an unknown tongue, and often

addressed to angels, to saints, nay to saints who never existed; rites and ceremonies childish and ridiculous; pilgrimages to the pictures and statues of saints; the veneration of relics; the sale of indulgences; miracles wrought to confirm transubstantiation or the holiness of relics; miracles by which relics are multiplied, so that the napkin with which Mary wiped our Lord's feet is to be found in eight different places †; stories of saints warmly inculcated in sermons, though of such a strain, as must provoke the laughter of the gay, and the indignation of the wise ‡; especially the oppression and persecution of alleged heretics; the forcing men to profess what they are convinced is unworthy of God, and contrary to his will; and the acting thus cruelly in violation of the most solemn oaths and engagements: these exhibitions of the principles and spirit of Popery, to philosophers who know not a better Christianity, must be a sorry recommendation. It is not therefore surprising, that for one Deist or Atheist in Britain, or Holland, there should be a score in Italy or France.

By the principles of Popery, the infallibility of the Pope is incapable of proof. It will not be pretended, that reason proves a man at Rome infallible. Neither can scripture prove his infallibility, if the private interpretation of scripture is not allowed: for it would be absurd to argue, that a text proves the Pope infallible, because the Pope asserts that it proves his infallibility. The same observations equally apply to the argument from tradition.

† See Misson's Voyages, t. 3. p. 22. & 52.

‡ The canonization of saints was introduced about the year 993, in an age, when as Cardinal Baronius confesses, monsters of wickedness often filled the see of Rome. The honour of saintship has been often conferred, on men remarkable for superstition, for enthusiasm, or for rebellion against their lawful princes.

tradition. The Pope or churches claims of infallibility have therefore no ſupport from argument, and are fanatical. He muſt be a thorough-paced fanatic, who knows the intrigues and cabals, which take place in the election of Popes, and yet believes that after ſuch election, they are under the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghoſt: or who allows that every individual member of a general council is fallible, and yet imagines, that by uniting together, they acquire infallibility.

Enough has been ſaid of the ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm of Popery, and the tendency of theſe to produce contempt of religion, both natural and revealed. But it is equally true, on the other hand, that ſcepticiſm and infidelity lead to Popery. The author of *Deiſm Revealed* juſtly obſerves, that the extremes of atheiſm and ſuperſtition, though they fly far from each other, move in ſuch a circle, as is apt to bring them together again on the oppoſite ſide. He who has no religion is more eaſily gained to a wrong one, than he who is already attached to a religion of oppoſite principles and genius. When libertiniſm has infected a nation, it will not be difficult to reduce that nation to Popery. When religious principle is extinguiſhed, and profligacy reigns over all ranks, there is no ſufficient motive to ſtimulate a nation to unite in ſteadily oppoſing the encroachments of civil or eccleſiaſtic deſpotiſm. Perhaps you will urge, that covetouſneſs will excite men of fortune to oppoſe the return of ſuperſtition, the ſupport of which muſt greatly impair their wealth. Be it ſo. A few however may be perſuaded, that they will gain inſtead of loſing by that return; and if they are proficients in cunning and artifice, theſe few may gain ſuch numbers to favour their deſigns, that others who ſee their dangerous conſequences,

will either be deterred from opposing them, or will oppose in vain. The destroying the present established religions in Protestant countries, which many pious Christians thoughtlessly wish, would be surely one difficulty removed out of the way, for attempting at a convenient season the re-establishment of Popery. Wretchedness long suffered from the baneful influence of atheism and anarchy, may hurry the shortsighted to welcome the appearance of relief from those who, under a fair and specious disguise, recommend to their regards blind devotion, and submission to arbitrary power. Some of our noted deists, and furious declaimers against priestcraft and religious establishments, have been shrewdly suspected of no dislike to the church of Rome, and have indeed treated her with peculiar tenderness. Their most plausible objections against the scripture, are the very reasonings of that church, who, from the defects and obscurity of the sacred oracles, infer the necessity of an infallible guide. Men who have been betrayed by such sentiments of the bible to deism, may still be allowed to retain these sentiments, and only taught to derive from them different consequences, favourable to Popery. If fondness for vice seduce men to atheism and infidelity, that they may safely indulge criminal propensities, when conscience awakes from her slumbers, and alarms with the thoughts of a judgment to come, that same fondness may be no feeble preparative for seeking freedom from these alarms in the soothing doctrines of indulgences and priestly absolutions.

In various parts of Britain, seeds of Popery have been plentifully sown. Their growth perhaps has been less attended to than it ought to have been. The increase may prove greater than is

is generally apprehended. Melancholy instances are mentioned in Mr Blackburn's Considerations of the Progress of Popery in England, and in Dr Hyndman, Dick, and Walker's reports of its progress in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. There was published last year at London, a letter from a layman to the Marquis of Buckingham. While the author justly approves the benevolent exertions both of individuals and of Government for relieving the necessities of the French emigrants, whether laity or clergy; he complains, that two hundred thousand pounds annually issued for that humane purpose, was under the direction of the Bishop of St Pol de Leon, and partly employed in educating youth in the Roman Catholic religion, and in supplying the place of such of the emigrant priests who die, or relinquish the mansions assigned them in the King's house at Worcester, not only from emigrants, but from Catholics born in Britain. He further observes, that the skill which emigrants acquire in the English language, and their admission into the houses of tradesmen, and even of the lowest orders, as teachers of French, gives them opportunities of spreading their religious tenets, which they are too wise to neglect. He hints, that sacred sisterhoods appear in the trappings of their order; that a nunnery near Bishops Aukland is under the protection of the Prince Bishop of the Palatinate; and that some design the transplanting to Yorkshire the Jesuits college at Douay; whereas, by the act 31 Geo. III, monasteries and nunneries are not admissible in this Protestant country.

The inferences from these facts are too obvious to need illustration. The facts have been retailed in literary journals from the layman's letter, and, so far as the Publisher knows, have not been contradicted.

tradicted. Be that as it may, two circumſtances merit the attention of every ſincere Proteſtant. Popiſh emigrants, zealous for their religion, and grateful to their benefactors, which it may be preſumed many of them are, have a double motive to exert themſelves to the utmoſt for making proſelytes; and men of humanity, from their ſufferings for conſcience, whether they originate from loyalty or religion, may lend a more favourable ear to their pleas for Popery.

But, ſtrange and paradoxical as the aſſertion may appear to ſome, who fancy they read in every victory of the French, a preſage of Antichriſt's ſpeedy fall, more is to be apprehended to Proteſtantiſm from theſe victories, than from the fugitive royaliſts: though it is readily allowed, nothing is more remote from the view of the conquerors, than ſtrengthening the Roman Catholic cauſe. This is not concluded from theory or ſpeculation, but from what has actually happened in a country, whoſe divines, by their piety, purity of doctrine, and theological literature, were among the chief bulwarks of the reformed churches. At a meeting of the National Aſſembly repreſenting the people of Holland, 23d May 1796, the citizen repreſentative Plaas Van Amſtel, moved; That, for encouraging citizens of every religious denomination to arm in defence of their country and free conſtitution, it ſhould be decreed, that, in virtue of the liberty and equality proclaimed on their late happy revolution, religion was, and ought to be, ſeparated from the ſtate; that it was unjuſt that money ſhould be levied from thoſe of one religion in behalf of another, or that the ſtate ſhould prefer any ſect, by paying ſalaries, or conferring any peculiar honours or advantages on her teachers. After long debates on this important

ant ſubject, and reports from different committees appointed to conſider it, the ſpirit of this propoſal was adopted in decrees and proclamations, 5th & 18th Auguſt 1796. It was declared, that there ſhould be henceforth no privileged or eſtabliſhed religion, and that all decrees and reſolutions, founded on the old alliance between church and ſtate, ſhould be conſidered as aboliſhed; that no proceſſes for ſalaries ſhould be allowed, in conſequence of them; that no clergymen of any church ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by their dreſs, or any other badge of their office; that no public exerciſe of religion ſhould be permitted, except in churches or prayer-houſes; and that meetings in theſe ſhall not be intimated by ringing of bells. And for removing other grievances reſulting from a religious eſtabliſhment, which could not be inſtantly redreſſed, without violating the laws of equity, and occaſioning diſorder, a committee ſhall correſpond with the magiſtrates in different parts of the ſtates, and take ſuch meaſures as they judged expedient for that effect; and particularly, for the maintenance of the teachers and divinity profeſſors of the formerly eſtabliſhed church, until their plans are laid before this Aſſembly, and general uniform meaſures adopted. In the courſe of the previous debate, a Popiſh prieſt, who was a citizen repreſentative, admitted the impropriety of the ſtate ſettling benefices on the religious inſtructors of any particular ſect, but urged, that it would be unjuſt to deprive any ſect of what had been privately given or bequeathed for their ſupport. He did not mean, by that remark, to claim for the church of which he was a member, indemnification for the ſums of which, for more than two hundred years, they had been deprived, but only to urge that the intereſt of

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these sums should henceforth be applied to the purposes for which they were originally destined*. —So far as the Publisher recollects, this reasoning was not objected to by other speakers. But it is obvious, that by adopting this specious principle, Roman Catholics, recovering the vast sums left before the Reformation, would find the burden of maintaining their clergy much easier than any denomination of Protestants---a circumstance which must facilitate their acquiring proselytes among men unwilling to part with their money. Much as the Publisher laments the abolition of their religious establishment, and much as he dreads the consequences of that measure, in justice to the members of their National Assembly, he must observe, that their measures breathe a spirit of equity and moderation, very different from that which dishonoured the establishment of Episcopacy after the Restoration of Charles II.

There are who imagine that the power of princes is the chief support of Popery, and that, therefore, every true Protestant should rejoice in the destruction of that power by the arms of France, and the spread of republican principles. Scripture undoubtedly foretels one period in which the tyranny of Antichrist should be maintained by royal protection, and another in which it should be finally destroyed by royal opposition. The present period has not the characters of either of these. Many Popish princes seem more disposed to weaken and diminish, than to strengthen and increase the Papal power. In the last years of Lewis XV, the religious assemblies of Protestants were connived at, if held at a distance from great cities:

* All the speeches in this interesting debate, are inserted in a Dutch publication, intituled, *Valledige Verzomeling van alle stukken betreffende de afscheiding der kerk van den staat*, Leyden 1796.

cities: but Protestant marriages were still considered as unlawful. Under Lewis XVI, several respectable Catholics, and even some of the bishops, saw the injustice and cruelty of depriving Protestants of rights, which were not denied even unto Jews. Accordingly, November 1787, that gentle and humane prince, published an edict, that the marriages of Protestants should be accounted lawful, on their declaring their cohabiting as man and wife, either to a Popish priest, who was to require no confession of their faith, or to a civil magistrate. By another decree, Protestant teachers were prohibited from wearing any badge of their office; which was a tacit allowance of their exercising their office without such badge: and one article of that same edict supposes that they might baptize their children in what way they pleased, or, if they chose, not baptize them at all. Popery would have been much more reformed, and Protestantism more fully tolerated, in the Austrian hereditary dominions, and Poland, had the hearts of the people been as well prepared for such measures, as those of the late Emperors Joseph and Leopold, and of the unfortunate Stanislaus Poniatowski. Future events are secret things, which belong to the Lord. The manner, however, of the final destruction of Popery, is a thing revealed. The ten kings which had given their power and strength unto the beast, shall hate the whore, and make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. This surely can neither mean that they were to befriend her in the day of her fall, nor that her fall was to be accomplished by their being guillotined or dethroned.

The Publisher therefore sees no ground to conclude, that the overturning the present monarchies and

and religious establishments in Europe, is anywhere in Scripture represented as a forerunner of the destruction of Antichrist, or tends to the accomplishment of that event. He rather apprehends, that Antichrist will recover his lost power, and use it more cruelly than ever;—and that the reasonings and warnings of Venema * on that head, deserve the most serious attention.

* See Number VIII.

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NUMBER XI.

ACCOUNT of CALVIN's TREATMENT of SERVETUS.

From *Sennebier's Histoire Literaire de Geneve*, &c. Genev. 1786. P. 204—227.

THE tragical history of Servetus happened 1553. It has often been related, to blacken Calvin's character, by his bitter enemies, and by those who had not seen the pieces in his justification. It has been confidently asserted, that the Geneva reformer long harboured an implacable hatred of the unfortunate Spaniard, used every effort to gratify his malice, denounced him to the Magistrates of Vienne, and caused seize him in the morning after his arrival at Geneva. Men easily believe what is so positively asserted, and almost imagine it impossible that the tale can be false. Yet Bolzec, the cotemporary and the mortal enemy of Calvin, who wrote his life only to tear his character in pieces, and Maimburg, so celebrated for partiality and misrepresentation, durst not allege those pretended facts, which modern historians have advanced. Bolzec says, that Servetus's haughtiness, insolence, and dangerous projects, making him hated and dreaded at Lyons, he left it for Charlieu; yet afterwards returned to Lyons, and communicated his ideas to Calvin, who keenly opposed them; and, on Servetus sending him his *Restitutio Christianismi*, broke off all intercourse with him. Calvin however did not betray his secrets, or cause seize him at Vienne; for he wrote to Viretus and Farel, that if Servetus came to Geneva, the consequence would be, the loss of his life. Calvin

naturally concluded this from the ſpirit of the laws and government at Geneva, and from the ideas of all ſects at that time. Indeed, he bore with Servetus as long as there was any hope of his recovery; and it was the Spaniard who firſt introduced perſonal abuſe into their controverſy. Bucer, Oecolampadius, Farel, Beza, and even the gentle Melanchton, approved the ſentence paſſed againſt him. As it would be unjuſt on that account to accuſe theſe celebrated men, it is equally unjuſt to accuſe Calvin of hatred to Servetus.

But *Calvin abuſed his confidence, and ſent to Vienne the letters he had received from him, and the* Reſtitutio Chriſtianiſmi *with which he had preſented him.*—That accuſation is abſurd. Could Calvin, whoſe name was execrated by Papiſts, expect attention to his complaints, or regard to his letters, from the Magiſtrates of Vienne? Suppoſe Calvin as cruel as you pleaſe, why was he ſilent for ſeven years, why did he not in an earlier period commence his perſecution of Servetus, and why did he not ſend to every place where the heretic reſided, the letters he had received from him, and his *Reſtitutio?* It is evident, from a letter of Calvin, dated February 1546, that Calvin, convinced of the puniſhment Servetus deſerved, would not encourage him to come to Geneva, but intimated to him what he had to fear, ſhould he venture it. He wiſhed therefore, by keeping him at a diſtance from Geneva, that he might eſcape the puniſhment with which he threatened him, if he came there. So far was he from contriving to ſubject him to puniſhment in another place. Indeed, Calvin's writing the Magiſtrates of Vienne, and ſending them the *Reſtitutio,* could anſwer no purpoſe. It would have been ridiculous for him to ſend them a copy of a book printed in France under their

their eyes, or to point out what was exceptionable in it, which the reading it would ſufficiently do. Accordingly, the ſentence paſſed at Vienne, gives no inſinuation that Calvin had interpoſed in the proceſs. It is true, that the Magiſtrates of Vienne, knowing that Servetus had correſponded with Calvin, applied to the council at Geneva for his letters. But it is equally true, that their ſentence was founded on the errors in his book, and his own confeſſions; not on theſe letters.

But *Calvin, informed of Servetus's eſcape from the priſon of Vienne, cauſed ſeize him two or three days after his arrival at Geneva.*—Facts do not quadrate with this charge. Servetus eſcaped from Vienne before the execution of the ſentence which condemned him to be burned, 17th June. If he took fifteen days in his flight, he would have been at Geneva the beginning of July, and yet he was not ſeized there till 13th Auguſt. Think not that he was concealed till then ſomewhere elſe. A little prudence would prevent his tarrying where Popery was eſtabliſhed, leſt the clamours of Vienne ſhould overtake him; and Geneva was the firſt place where he could expect ſhelter. Probably, therefore, he was ſeized, not in two or three days, but near ſix weeks after his arrival. The accuſations againſt him were, (1.) His ſaying, in his Commentary on Ptolemy, that the bible vaingloriouſly celebrated the fertility of Canaan, though indeed an uncultivated and barren country. (2.) His calling one God in three perſons a three-headed Cerberus. (3.) His aſſerting, that God was every thing, and that every thing was God. He did not deny the charges, but pled the neceſſity of toleration. The Council of Vienne demanded that he ſhould be ſent back to them; but it being left to his choice, he preferred the chance of

of a more favourable sentence at Geneva, to the certainty of capital punishment at Vienne.

While we blame the principles of jurisprudence which conducted this process, it should be acknowledged, that the Council at Geneva neglected nothing for discovering the truth; exerted every mean for persuading Servetus to retract; and, when all proved in vain, asked the advice of the Swiss Cantons, who unanimously exhorted them to punish the wicked person, and put him out of a condition of spreading heresy. The intolerance therefore of the age, not the cruelty of Calvin, dictated the sentence 27th October, that Servetus should be burnt alive. Castalio alone had the courage to write a dissertation against the punishment of heretics, which, though he was at Basil, he thought it necessary for his own safety to publish under the feigned name of Bellius. There have been both former and later instances at Geneva, of similar violent proceedings against heretics. In 1536, all were deprived of the right of citizenship who did not admit the received doctrine. In 1558, Gentilis escaped death only by retracting. Calvin says, in a letter written at that time, that Servetus, if he had not been mad, would have escaped punishment, by renouncing his errors, or even by a more modest behaviour. But Servetus persisted to defend his opinions in blasphemous language: the laws of the times could not be violated: and therefore, the endeavours of some to satisfy themselves with his banishment, and of Calvin to render his punishment less cruel, had no effect. It is certain, Calvin deplored Servetus's fate; and the disputes in prison were managed with much greater moderation on his side, than on that of the panel. In a period when the principles of toleration were not understood,

ſtood, zeal againſt opinions ſubverſive both of natural and revealed religion, drove men to cruel and unwarrantable extremes. Calvin's ſituation was peculiarly delicate. Roman Catholics accuſed him of dangerous theological errors. Their eyes were fixed upon him; and had he remained an indifferent ſpectator of the proceſs againſt Servetus, they would have pronounced him a favourer of his opinions. Add to this, had Servetus eſcaped, his groſs and abuſive charges againſt Calvin would have appeared well-founded; and Calvin's adverſaries would have availed themſelves of that advantage for ruining his influence.

NUMBER XII.

From MEUSEL's *Vorlesungen uber Kaiser Joseph II.* Leipzig 1790; *i. e.* Meusel's Prelections on the Emperor Joseph II.

P. 1.—70. AFTER severe bodily sufferings, distressing tidings from some of his hereditary dominions, and the death of his daughter Elizabeth, which two days preceded his own, the Emperor Joseph died, 27th February 1790. He was made King of the Romans 1764; and on his father's death, August 1765, succeeded him as Emperor. Though his mother Maria Theresa soon after admitted him joint governor of the hereditary dominions, yet, such was her jealousy of power, that, except in military affairs, which she left entirely to his direction, he often found it necessary to gain his wishes by openly advising what was opposite to them; or, by employing the ministers of state to propose, what, if proposed by him, would have been rejected. His mother died 29th November 1780, by which he became sole sovereign of the Austrian dominions. He had many opportunities, during Maria Theresa's administration, to observe and lament the bigotry, intolerance and fanaticism which prevailed in them; and, though prudence led him to suppress and to disguise sentiments which would have irritated her, yet, on her death, he instantly commenced a long meditated attack on false religion. In Bohemia especially, many of the clergy had been the table or sport companions of their patrons; and, through ignorance, immoral conduct, attending chiefly to secular business, reading mass for money, and rigorously exacting their dues,

dues, were often hated and did more hurt than good. The number of monks and nuns was immenſe. To remedy theſe evils, the connexion of the regular clergy with the generals of their orders, and with foreign monaſteries, was diſſolved. It was enacted, that the Pope's decrees, even with reſpect to foreign biſhops who had juriſdiction in the Auſtrian dominions, ſhould not be executed without the Sovereign's approbation; that the bulls *unigenitus, et in cœna Domini*, ſhould be of no force in the Auſtrian ſtates; that monaſteries ſhould be diminiſhed, ceremonies ſimplified, and no difference made between Papiſts and Proteſtants, except in the public exerciſe of religion; that the people ſhould be allowed the uſe of any bible approved by the board for cenſuring books; that diſpenſations for marriage ſhould be procured from the biſhops, not from Rome; and that none ſhould introduce foreign breviaries or miſſals under pain of confiſcation. Theſe, and many other important decrees in the firſt year of his government, were followed by the well known toleration edict, 13th October 1781, by which thoſe of the Augſburg and Helvetian confeſſions, and the Diſſident Greeks, were allowed the undiſturbed private exerciſe of their religion, and the common rights of citizens. Soon after, another edict enjoined the clergy, to make known the toleration edict, and to inculcate on their people a courteous behaviour to thoſe who differed from them in religion. Explications, and in ſome meaſure limitations, of the toleration edict ſoon followed; though the efforts of the Biſhop of Rome, by written repreſentations, by the arts of many of the clergy, and by his viſit to Vienna, could not produce a change of meaſures in articles of any importance. Gradually, the abolition of monaſteries

nasteries was carried farther and farther; their incomes, after paying the pensions of those who had belonged to the religious houses, being applied to the building churches and schools, and to other pious purposes. Decrees were published, January 1782, for examining more strictly candidates for holy orders; and, 1783, for the better regulating and frequently inspecting the seminaries for their education. Severe criticisms of sermons were encouraged. In the mean time, Protestants or Catholics, who imagined that Joseph wished to alter the doctrines of the pretended infallible church, were mistaken. His changes only affected church discipline, the jurisdiction of the Pope in his hereditary dominions, and the sending money from thence to Rome. In tolerating Dissidents, not love to them, but bringing men and money to his dominions, was his motive. The toleration edict, though it lessened, did not remove restraints on the rights of private judgment; and against those not included in that edict, the same severities were employed as formerly. Thus the Deists and Arians in Bohemia, though peaceable, loyal and industrious, if they would not turn Papists or Protestants, were banished to the Bonnet of Temeswaer. The prescribed forms gave the clergy and civil officers a pretext for using Protestants harshly; though not in Vienna and other great cities, yet in the more distant provinces, where often, at funerals, the people were excited to mob them. When their complaints reached the throne, their distance often rendered Joseph's disposition to relieve them fruitless. At the end of the year 1783 it was decreed, that no professions of becoming Protestants were to be received after the beginning of the year 1784. There can be no true toleration, where

where free inquiry into articles of faith, and free profession of what we account the truth, are thus limited. Jews were allowed to purchase lands, and to engage in trade and manufactures; and diligent students among them were capable of pensions from the fund raised from the rich for the instruction of the poor. In 1788, twenty-eight Jewish teachers were sent from Bohemia to Gallicia for instructing youth. Maria Theresa was attentive to the education of her subjects, and spared no cost for promoting it. Unhappily, a method was introduced into the normal schools, and for a time followed by Joseph, which taught words, rather than things. Clearer views led him, in 1788, to abolish a method of catechising, which only employed or rather tortured the memory, and to prescribe a more rational method.

P. 128—140. For promoting the sciences, Joseph did little. Premiums for encouraging the learned, funds for supporting old, or erecting new institutions favourable to science, and bringing, by ample salaries, foreign literati to his dominions, were not his object. Three or four learned foreign Protestants were brought to Prague, Freyberg, and Pest, that the youth might have no pretence for studying abroad, and thus money might be kept in the country. He hindered not however the erecting learned societies, provided they cost him nothing. Reforms in universities and academies were superficial, and their hurtful plans of education remained untouched. The skill and zeal with which the pursuit of useful knowledge was excited and assisted in foreign universities, especially among Protestants, in Austrian universities was little known. Professors indeed were obliged to teach so many hours in a week. But their salaries being fixed; whether they had

few

few or many ſcholars, and in what manner they taught, was conſidered as a matter of great indifference. Yet, in this department, one change did honour to the deceaſed monarch. He aboliſhed the tyrannical cenſure of books, which had hindered the circulation of good books, whether of their own country or from abroad, and had encouraged ignorance and ſuperſtition, by multiplying mean and pitiful tracts, which were read, through the want of what was better. Even in Maria Thereſa's reign, Van Swieten had endeavoured to remedy theſe evils, by a cenſorial college, partly conſiſting of laymen, and in which were no Jeſuits. But, through the prejudices of that learned man, the cenſure was too ſevere and deſpotic, and became more ſo after his death; till Joſeph gave relief, and allowed the printing all books which did not attack religion, morals, or government; though, in importing foreign books, reſtraints hurtful to knowledge ſtill remained. Indeed, theſe reſtraints were few; yet, through the timidity, paſſions and prejudices of members of the board of cenſure, there was great danger that, in particular caſes, they would be improperly explained and extended. By a liſt which Beris publiſhed, 1783, new Vienna authors amounted to four hundred and thirty-five. Few of them however contributed to enlighten or improve their fellow-citizens, and much leſs to entertain or inſtruct foreigners, the greateſt part of them only containing trifling common-place declamations, or exhibiting falſe ideas. The avidity with which they were read, indicates how far Auſtria was behind the reſt of Germany in uſeful knowledge. Few of them made their way beyond Vienna, at leaſt, beyond Auſtria; and in fourteen days, even at Vienna, the greater part

of

of them was forgotten. Yet they were not without their uſe. A nation which begins to write, cannot immediately expect writings of profound genius and refined taſte. Yet by theſe publications, the multitude became accuſtomed to ſentiments, which, under Maria Thereſa, they would hardly have heard with patience; and pamphlets on religious ſubjects, though not deep, expoſed many groſs and hurtful prejudices.

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NUM-

NUMBER XIII.

OBSERVATIONS *on the* **ORIGIN** *of* **RELIGIOUS ERRORS,** *on the* **DIVINITY** *of* **CHRIST,** *&c.—From a Manuscript by the late Reverend* Dr Joseph Bellamy.

ORIGIN OF RELIGIOUS ERRORS.

1. WRONG sentiments in moral matters, are criminal, as well as wrong actions. To think ill of God's real moral character is criminal, as well as to make another God of a different moral character, to suit our own hearts. *When the Gentiles knew God, they glorified him not as God—they did not like to retain God in their knowledge.* Hence they made to themselves gods, such as they liked; and these they glorified, builded temples to their honour, and offered sacrifices to them with pleasure. And had the Israelites liked the moral character of their God, instead of adopting, they would have despised the worthless gods of their neighbours: Rom. i. 21—28.; Jer. ii. 5—13. And as the Jews hated the light of the real moral character of God, so they hated Jesus, who exhibited it to their view; Joh. iii. 19. & vii. 7. & viii. 40—45. & xv. 20—24. And as the Christian nations *did not receive the truth in the love of it, but had pleasure in unrighteousness,* this prepared them *to believe a lie,* i. e. all the errors of the apostate church of Rome; 2 Thess. ii. Hatred of true morality, is the real source of all persecution; Matt. v. 10, 11, 12.

2. All the objections of the human heart against revealed religion, originate from dislike to natural religion; Rom. viii. 7, 8, 9. He that loves true morality, will love christianity as soon as

as he knows it. He that loves the moral law, will love the gospel of Christ. Every honest man will be a christian, as soon as he hears the word, and understands it; Luke viii. 15.; Joh. vii. 17.; 1 Joh. v. 1. He who loves the Father, will love his own Son, his express image; Joh. viii. 42.

3. The enemies of Jesus, who hated him with a mortal hatred, alleged a variety of things against him, to keep themselves in countenance: But our Saviour, who was intimately acquainted with the whole affair, and even knew their very hearts, intimated privately to his brethren according to the flesh, who at that time took sides with his enemies, what was the real cause, and the original foundation of all this ill-will towards him. John vii. 7.—*The world cannot hate you*, (as you think and feel as they do); *but me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.*—Even so hath it happened ever since, that though those in Christendom, who have hated and persecuted the true followers of Christ, rejected the true scheme of religion, and invented other schemes to suit their various tastes; have at all times alleged a great variety of reasons to justify themselves: Yet as Jesus was hated, so real christianity hath always been hated, because it testifies of the world, that the works thereof are evil. This was the *true secret* then, and it hath been the *true secret* ever since; although, then, Christ Jesus himself was publicly so odious, that those who murdered him, and killed his followers, thought they did God service, and were promoting the cause of morality; and although it hath frequently been so in ages since.—*If they persecute me, they will also persecute you: he that hateth me, hateth my Father also.*—Blessed are they who are persecuted for *righteousness* sake; Matt. v. 10.—or, which is the same—*for*

my sake; ver. 11. And this hath been the *real ground* of *all* persecution:—for *so* persecuted they the prophets which were before you; verse 12.

4. Right sentiments concerning the moral character of God, and concerning the moral law—morality—moral obligation—moral agency—all which belong to natural religion, would prepare us to receive and entertain right sentiments concerning the whole system of revealed religion; and if all our prejudices against natural religion were removed, we should have no prejudices left against revealed religion. To be more particular—

5. The real moral character of God, the knowledge of which was lost among the nations of the earth, but is now brought to light in the sacred writings, were it understood and cordially viewed as an absolutely perfect character, would soon convince us that God is fit to sit at the head of the universe, and decree and conduct according to the good pleasure of his will; and all our objections against his *eternal decrees* and *universal providence*, would in effect vanish at once, and we should begin to sing, as in Psal. xcvii. 1.—*The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice.*—And,

6. Right sentiments of the moral law—of true morality—of the nature, extent, and excellence of all that duty which God requireth of man, and of our obligations to yield all that love and obedience which is required of us, together with a feeling that we in fact are moral agents with respect to the whole of that love and duty which is required—would at once prepare us to make a right estimate of the nature and degree of our moral depravity, and of our guilt and ill desert, and of our need of that Redeemer and Sanctifier, and

and of that pardoning mercy and sanctifying grace, revealed in the gospel; and dispose us with candour to understand Scripture words and phrases relative to those subjects, and answer a thousand objections which otherwise will fill our minds.

7. We ought to love God with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves, so as to be influenced and governed by this love in the whole of our conduct; and our obligations hereunto, as they originate from, so they are equal unto the infinite dignity of Him who requires this of us. Were this understood, and cordially acquiesced in, an end would soon be put to all the disputes about the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments; about the nature and necessity of regeneration; of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; of justification by free grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, &c. &c. &c.—But,

8. So long as we differ in our sentiments concerning morality—moral obligation—what qualifications are necessary to constitute a moral agent—*i. e.* in effect, concerning the moral character of God, and of man—we shall not very readily agree in our understanding of any written revelation relative to these matters, let the revelation be ever so full, or ever so plain. Since the increase of learning in Europe, religious disputes have increased, and the number of heretics and infidels greatly multiplied; as if, in proportion to light externally exhibited, the internal vices of the human mind were the more alarmed. The true reason we find in Rom. viii. 7, 8.; John iii. 19.

9. If we are not bound by the divine law, any farther than our inclination corresponds—then

Pharaoh was not bound to *let Israel go*, notwithstanding the express command of the Almighty—and not the divine law, but every man's inclination, becomes the rule of his duty in all cases whatsoever. If the infinite worthiness of the Deity doth not infinitely oblige us to love and obey him—then sin is not an infinite evil; and an atonement of infinite value, in order to our pardon, is not needed, if any at all; nor is a Saviour of infinite dignity requisite; nor will the doctrines of the divinity and satisfaction of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments, be readily believed, how plainly soever revealed. *The passions justify themselves*; and if the feelings of each man's heart ought to be the rule of duty to each man, then it will come to pass, that *every way of* each *man will be right in his own eyes*—and *the whole need not a physician.* And in these views, and with these feelings, men will not readily understand the Bible, or believe it to contain a revelation from heaven; and it must be entirely newmodelled, or totally rejected.

10. When once the Bible is rejected by men, because they do not like to retain God in their knowledge, a new god will be formed, who will approve, a new system of morality invented, which will justify, the moral character of man, without any need at all of any redeemer, or any sanctifier: and it may now even be said, that any atonement for sin, besides what the sinner himself can make, is inconsistent with the moral character of God; and that any sanctifier whatsoever, is inconsistent with the character of man, as a moral agent.

11. Miracles, they will say, are of no use to prove what by their reason they know to be false. Natural religion is the only religion God ever gave

to

to man; and it is sufficient to secure the welfare of every man, both here and hereafter.

12. Thus, having rejected the true God, and the true morality, from disaffection to both, and framed a system of religion to suit their hearts, they cry peace, peace to themselves, until sudden destruction comes upon them.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST.

Gen. xii. 7. "And the Lord *appeared* to Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: And there builded he an altar unto the Lord, who *appeared* unto him."

Quest. 1. Who is *this Lord* that *appeared*, &c.?

Ans. The *Arians* say, it was not God, i. e. *the Most High God*; *for no man hath seen God at any time*; John i. 18:—But it was another being, inferior to the Most High God, who was sent by the Most High, to appear, to speak, to act, in the name of the Most High; to personate him; and who therefore is called *the Angel of the Lord*.—To which it may be *objected*—

Obj. 1. That, in fact, he speaks *in his own name*—"Unto thy seed will I give this land,"—not another God; but I, myself, "I will give."

Obj. 2. Abram believed him to be in his own person, *the Most High God*: for he paid that worship to him which is peculiar to the Most High God. "He builded an altar *unto the Lord, who appeared* unto him." But it is written, Exodus xxii. 20. "He that sacrificeth to any god, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed." Was Abram an idolater? Were not his sacrifices accepted by the *Lord who appeared*?

Obj. 3. This same Jehovah who appeared unto Abram, did afterwards appear unto Moses, say-

 ing,

ing, "Go, tell Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me;" Exod. ix. 1. And on Mount Sinai, Exod. xx. "I am" (I myself am) "the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me."—Was not this expresly to claim to be the Most High God? even the one only true and living God? Was not this claim made expresly in his own name?

Obj. 4. This very same God, who appeared to Abram, was in fact worshipped as the Most High God, by Abram's posterity in all succeeding generations, as is evident from the 9th chapter of Nehemiah, throughout, as well as from a thousand other texts.

Quest. 2. Who was *the Angel of the Lord* that appeared to Moses in the burning bush? Exod. iii. 3.

Ans. The very same God who had before appeared to Abram, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as is acknowledged by all; and even the Angel of the Lord expresly declares it to be so; Exod. iii. 6.—18. See also, Gen xxviii. 13.—22., and xxxi. 13.

Quest. 3. If the Angel of the Lord was the Most High God, who was the Lord of the Angel?

Ans. The Most High God; for it is written, Deut. vi. 4. "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God "is one Lord." Joh. x. 30. "I and my Father "are one." Joh. xiv. 9. "He that hath seen "me, hath seen the Father." And because the Father *sent* the Son, therefore he is called *the Angel of the Lord;* and because God the Son is God, even one God with the Father, therefore he said, *Thou shalt have no other God before me;* and because God the Father is God, even one God with the Son, therefore God the Father is called *the*

God

God of Abram, Acts iii. 13.; for according to ſcripture, there is but one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, in whoſe name all Chriſtians are baptized.

Exod. xxiv. 9, 10. " Then went up Moſes " and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and ſeventy of " the elders of Iſrael: and they *ſaw* the God of " Iſrael."

Queſt. 4. If it is true, as is aſſerted in Joh. i. 18. " No man hath *ſeen* God at any time;" what meaneth theſe words, " And they SAW the God " of Iſrael?"

Anſ. The only begotten Son *appeared*, exhibited the inviſible Godhead, which no eye hath ſeen. He appeared then as God, afterwards in the likeneſs of man, Phil. ii. 6, 7.

N. B. The God who (Gen. i. 1.) *in the beginning created the heaven and the earth* (a careful reading of the following chapters will convince any candid man), is the ſame God who appeared to Adam, before the fall, and after the fall; to Cain, before he ſlew his brother, and after he ſlew his brother; to Noah, before the flood, and after the flood; to Abram, before he came into the land of Canaan, and after he came into the land of Canaan; and who appeared at all other times to Iſaac, to Jacob, to Moſes, to Joſhua, &c.; and who was known as *the God* and *King of Iſrael*; for, by the only begotten Son of God *were all things made that were made*; and by him hath the inviſible Godhead been revealed to mankind, in all the divine works, ſince the creation; and perhaps for this reaſon he is called, *the Word of God*. " No man hath ſeen God at any time; the only " begotten Son, who is in the boſom of the Fa- " ther, he hath revealed him."

Gen. xiv. 22. Abram ſaid, I have lift up mine hand unto the *Lord, the Moſt High God*, the poſſeſſor of heaven and earth.

Queſt. 5. Was not this Jehovah, the ſame Jehovah who appeared to Abram, Gen. xii. 7. where we read, that *he builded an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him?* Or, did he build an altar to one Jehovah (*an inferior God*), and ſware by another Jehovah, who was the MOST HIGH GOD?

N. B. If God the Son was he who *appeared* to Abram, and who was in fact the *God* and *King of Iſrael*, the Evangeliſts and other inſpired writers of the New Teſtament, may be juſtified in applying to him texts out of the Old Teſtament which were originally meant of *the God of Iſrael*. Compare Gen. i. 1. with Joh. i. 1, 2, 3, 10.; and Pſal. lxviii. 17, 18, with Eph. iv. 8, 9, 10.; and Pſal. xcvii. 1—7. with Heb. i. 6.; and Pſal cii. 26, with Heb. i. 10.; and Iſai. vi. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, with Joh. xii. 40, 41.; and Iſ. xl. 3. with Luke i. 76. Luke iii. 4. &c. &c.

Queſt. 6. May I lawfully deny the OMNIPRESENCE of God, becauſe I can neither underſtand nor explain it, nor ſolve difficulties relative to it?

Anſ. By no means. The application is eaſy.

Queſt. 7. Was not God the Son, not only God by nature, but alſo God by office; when Moſes and Aaron were mediators by office; as under the Goſpel diſpenſation, God the Father is God by office, while God-Man is Mediator by office?

Queſt. 8. When God the Son ſaid, "Thou "ſhalt have no other Gods before me," did this exclude God the Father? Or, when the Father is called *the only true God*, does this exclude the Son?

Queſt.

Quest. 9. As we may underſtand enough about the omnipreſence of God to influence our practice, without being able to anſwer all queſtions, and ſolve all difficulties relative to it; ſo, may we not know enough about the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, to influence our practice, while quite unable to anſwer all queſtions, and ſolve all difficulties relative to this ſubject?

Queſt. 10. Did Abram *ever once build an altar* to any other God beſides *Jehovah who appeared unto him?*

Queſt. 11. Is it lawful to worſhip, as the Moſt High God, one who is not God moſt high, in any caſe whatſoever?

Queſt. 12. How can the conduct of Abram, Gen. xii. 7. be juſtified on the Arian ſcheme?

The OMNIPRESENCE *of* GOD *equally incomprehenſible with the Scripture Doctrine of the* TRINITY.

Compare Pſal. cxxxix. 8, 9, 10, with *James Purves's Humble Attempt*, p. 87, 88.

1. The whole eſſence of God is preſent in three places, heaven, earth, hell; or but a part of the divine eſſence.—If the whole eſſence is in one place, there is no part of the divine eſſence in any other place.—If part of the divine eſſence is in one place, and part in another, and part in another, then the eſſence of God is divided.——This is like James Purves's *humble* method of reaſoning.

2. The whole eſſence of God acts in three places at the ſame time, or but part of the divine eſſence. If the whole acts in one place, there is no part acting in any other. If a part acts in one place, and part in another, and part in another, then the eſſence of God is divided. If the whole acts

acts in three places at the same time, then there are three Gods.

3. If the three parts of the divine essence are each of them infinite, then there are three infinites. If they are finite, then three finites make one infinite.

Quest. 1. Is this way of reasoning an evidence of humility? Or,

Quest. 2. Is it sufficient to prove that Abram *builded an altar*, Gen. xii. 7, to an inferior God? Or,

Quest 3. That the Jehovah who *appeared* to him, was not in his own person what he expressly claimed to be, Gen. xvii. 1. *I am the Almighty God?*

NUM-

NUMBER XIV.

Defence of Jonah's History. *Abridged from King's Morsels of Criticism.* Lond. 1788. Note (*), p. 601—605.

THE history of Jonah, though by some carped at and turned into ridicule, contains nothing inconsistent with the soundest philosophy and experience. For,

1. Though a whale, properly so called, has so small a gullet that it could not possibly swallow a man, yet we ought to consider, that the word κῆτος does not necessarily mean a whale, as distinguished from other large fishes, but only a great sea monster, of which there are some, the shark among the rest, very capable of swallowing a man whole, and which have often done so. A very remarkable fish was taken on our own coast, though probably it was not of the full size, and therefore could not contain the body of a man. But others of its species very well might. A print and curious description of it, by Mr Ja. Fergusson, may be seen, Philosophical Transactions, vol. liii. p. 170, from which even this small one appears to have been near five feet in length, and of great bulk, and to have been merely, as it were, one vast bag, or great hollow tube, capable of containing the body of any animal of size that was but in some small degree inferior to its own. And unquestionably such a kind of fish, and of still larger dimensions, may, consistently even with the most correct ideas of any natural historian, be supposed to have occasionally appeared in the Mediterranean, as well as on our coasts, where

where ſuch a one was caught, having come up ſo far as into the Briſtol Channel, and King's Road.

2. A man may continue in the water, in ſome inſtances, without being drowned. Derham tells us (Phyſico-Theology, b. 4, cap. 7, note p. 158, 159. 12mo), that ſome have the *foramen ovale* of the heart remaining open all their lives, though in moſt it is cloſed very ſoon after birth; and that ſuch perſons as have the *foramen ovale* ſo left open, could neither be hanged nor drowned; becauſe, when the lungs ceaſe to play, the blood will neverthele ſs continue to circulate, juſt as it does in a fœtus in the womb. Though Mr Cheſelden doubted of this fact, yet Mr Cowper the anatomiſt ſays, he often found the *foramen* open in adults, and gives ſome curious inſtances. Mr Derham mentions ſeveral perſons who were many hours and days under water, and yet recovered; and one who even retained the ſenſe of hearing in that ſtate. And Dr Platt, Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, p. 292, mentions a perſon who ſurvived and lived, after having been hanged at Oxford for the ſpace of twenty hours before ſhe was cut down. The fact is notorious; and her pardon, reciting this circumſtance, is extant on record. See Ray on the Creation, p. 230, who obſerves, that having the *foramen ovale* of the heart open, enables ſome animals to be amphibious. Where then is the abſurdity in conceiving, that Jonas might have been a perſon of this kind, having the *foramen ovale* of his heart continuing open from his birth to the end of his days; in which caſe he could not be drowned, either by being caſt into the ſea, or by being ſwallowed up by the fiſh?

3. Neither could Jonah be injured by the digeſting fluid in the fiſh's ſtomach; for Mr Jo.

Hunter

Hunter obſerves (Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. lxii. p. 449), " that no animal ſubſtance can be digeſted, by the digeſting fluid uſually exiſting in animal ſtomachs, while life remains in ſuch animal ſubſtances. Animals (ſays he), or parts of animals, poſſeſſed of the living principle, when taken into the ſtomach, are not in the leaſt affected by the powers of that viſcus, ſo long as the animal principle remains. Thence it is, that we find animals of various kinds living in the ſtomach, or even hatched or bred there. But the moment that any of theſe loſe the living principle, they become ſubject to the digeſtive powers of the ſtomach. If it were poſſible for a man's hand, for example, to be introduced into the ſtomach of a living animal, and kept there for ſome conſiderable time, it would be found, that the diſſolvent powers of the ſtomach could have no effect upon it: but if the ſame hand were ſeparated from the body, and introduced into the ſame ſtomach, we ſhould then find, that the ſtomach would immediately act upon it. Indeed, if this were not the caſe, we ſhould find, that the ſtomach itſelf ought to have been made of indigeſtible materials; for if the living principle were not capable of preſerving animal ſubſtances from undergoing that proceſs, the ſtomach itſelf would be digeſted. But we find, on the contrary, that the ſtomach, which at one inſtant, that is, while poſſeſſed of the living principle, was capable of reſiſting the digeſtive powers which it contained, the next moment, viz. when deprived of the living principle, is itſelf capable of being digeſted, either by the digeſtive powers of other ſtomachs, or by the remains of that power which it had of digeſting other things."—Conſiſtently with which obſervations of Mr Hunter, we find, that ſmaller

fishes have been taken alive out of the stomachs of fishes of prey, and (not having been killed by any bite or otherwise) have survived their being devoured, and have swam away well recovered, and very little affected by the digesting fluid. Two instances of this kind are mentioned by Dr Platt, History of Staffordshire, p. 246; and others might be added.

There appears, therefore, nothing unphilosophical, or absurd, in supposing that Jonas (or indeed any other man having the *foramen ovale* of the heart open, or such a construction of his frame as those persons mentioned by Derham had), might be cast into the sea, and be swallowed up whole by a great fish, and yet be neither drowned, nor bitten, nor corrupted, nor digested, nor killed; and it will easily follow, from the dictates of common sense, that in that case the fish itself must either die, or be prompted by its feelings to get rid of its load; and this it perhaps might do more readily near the shore, than in the midst of the waters; and in that case, such person would certainly recover again, by degrees, and escape. I acknowledge, there must have been a miraculous divine interposition, in causing all the circumstances of the presence of the fish, of the formation of Jonas, and of the nearness of the shore at the time of his being thrown up, to concur rightly to effect his deliverance; and how much farther the miraculous interposition might extend, we cannot, nor ought not to presume to ascertain: but, solely to show the fact to be philosophically possible, even according to the experience we are permitted to be acquainted with, is sufficient to remove, and fully to answer the objections of scoffers.

NUM-

NUMBER XV.

On STOPPING *the* SUN *in its Course in the Days of* JOSHUA, *and on the Retrogradation of the Shadow of the Gnomon on* AHAZ's *Dial. By* Dr Donald Macqueen, *late Minister at* Kilmuir.

MEN ſpreading abroad from the original hive into woods and uncultivated deſarts, having their time taken up in procuring ſubſiſtence by very coarſe and unſuitable expedients, and having every thing to acquire by main force among wild beaſts, and the brutalized part of their own ſpecies, would ſoon forget the arts and ſciences of their anceſtors. In this diſmal ſtate, religion itſelf, though planted by the hand of nature in the ſoul of man, would be much neglected, and its moſt beautiful and eſſential lineaments defaced. Therefore, in the firſt ſocial compact, a form of religion would have been eſtabliſhed, for no ſociety ever wanted one. As to thoſe few ſmall tribes who are repreſented as having none, it may be aſked, if the travellers among them kept their company long enough to underſtand their language and cuſtoms; or, if they did, could the practice of a few diſunited individuals, form an exception to the general maxim of the univerſality of religion? In this forlorn ſtate of the human race, it was natural for the brutalized mind to take up the moſt glaring and beneficial objects. The elements, particularly the ſun and the moon, would be converted into divinities, actuated, as they believed them in the abſolute ignorance of natural philoſophy, by ſubaltern intelligences. The ſun, the ſource of plenty and gladneſs to man and beaſt, would by its beauty attract their firſt notice; the

moon, giving them light in absence of day, by which it favoured their nocturnal adventures, which, until the formation of larger societies, were frequent enough, would be next regarded. Thus, to the great neglect of the Invisible Power that created and governs all things, the sun was universally worshipped in Peru and Mexico, in Asia, Africa and Europe. In particular, it was the constant object of worship among the Canaanites. Its Phœnician appellation was *Hell*, (Servius, Æneid. 1. v. 645.): whence the Greek word ἥλιος, and the Welsh, as well as that of the inhabitants of Lower Brittany, *Hayll;* and in the Highlands of Scotland, the exclamation *Hel'*, *Hel'*, is made use of on being surprised with agreeable news. But, to intimate their particular veneration, the Phœnicians called it *Belgod*, (Servius, Æneid. 1. v. 733.) *Bal*, or *Moloch*, a King. Whence, by Massilia, or some other channel, it was imported into Gaul, and thence into Britain, where, in the ancient language, the first of May is called *La-bel-tine, the Day of Bell's Fire;* for in every district they burnt a *feu de joie*, on the return of this all-cheering luminary, above which they sung, danced, ranted, roared, and feasted; and no doubt these mixed dances, in countries where decency was little attended to, were unfavourable to chastity. It was only on this annual solemnity, that the Persian kings were permitted to renounce their gravity in getting drunk, and dancing in public. If so be that the Midianitish Belphegor was the Priapus of their high places, no wonder the people should have been immersed in debauchery, while they forgot the living God, and observed forbidden rites to Bel, or Belinus, a substitute of their own appointment. It is then a decisive proof of the supremacy of the Most High, that he

he ſtopped their god in his ordinary progreſs, to ſavour the extirpation of his worſhippers, who would have infected the Iſraelites with their follies and impurities, had they been permitted to live among them undiſturbed. Of all the miracles wrought after the flood of Noah, this muſt have been more univerſally known than any other, as it prolonged the day in one hemiſphere, and the night in another; a change which could not miſs to have been particularly attended to in Egypt, Chaldea, and China: Yet their writings, which were of the hieroglyphic kind, have not come down to us; and the traditions ariſing from them, paſſing through the hands of poets, put on the air of fable, and were abuſed, as other ancient truths, in their fantaſtical mythology. I ſhall however glean up what may ſeem to have an alluſion to this miracle, as well as to another of the ſame caſt, when the ſhadow went back ten degrees on the ſun-dial of Ahaz; which, mixed with the former, may account for the different circumſtances of the fact, as recorded in the ſeveral authors who mention theſe extraordinary phænomena. To paſs by the ſeveral teſtimonies given to theſe prodigies in the ſacred pages, I will begin with Herodot, who affirms, "that when Sennacherib, king of Aſſyria and Arabia, the enemy of Hezekiah, came to Egypt with a powerful army, in the reign of Sethon, prieſt of Vulcan; that prince, after ſlighting the military men, and depriving them of their lands, found himſelf at the mercy of his enemies. In this ſituation, he deplored his caſe before the God whom he worſhipped; and in the exceſs of his lamentations falling aſleep, he ſaw his God by his ſide, exhorting him to take courage, and aſſuring him of ſupport; upon which, gathering his artificers, &c.

 together,

together, he marched against the Assyrians, who, having the strings of their bows gnawed by legions of rats, set loose upon them, fled in great confusion, and sustained much loss in their flight. Upon this occasion, a statue of stone, representing the king, is set up in the temple of Vulcan, with a rat in one hand, and these words issuing from his mouth; "Whoever beholds me, let him learn to be religious."—This tale seems to have been borrowed by the ambitious priests of Vulcan, who were Herodot's authors, from the supernatural aid given Hezekiah against this same king; but the historian goes on, and says, on the same authority, that before the reign of the above Sethon, "the sun had four times altered his regular course, having been twice observed to rise where he now sets, and to go down twice where he now rises; yet without having produced any change by land or water, or by diseases or mortality." The order in which these facts lie connected in the Egyptian records, seems to declare a full concurring testimony of the retrogradation of the sun, which must have been the efficient cause of the return of the shadow of the gnomon on Ahaz's dial, as also on suspending the course of that luminary during a whole day or thereabouts in the days of Joshua. The Mexicans, who had probably like other Americans, made use of hieroglyphics, or quipos, before the state, such as the Spaniards found it, was formed, preserved a tradition of the sun's being four times extinguished, and as often renewed, which must have arisen from the long darkness on their continent on the two celebrated occasions above mentioned. The Chinese have recorded, that in the time of their Emperor Yaho, which falls in nearly, according to their computation, with that of Joshua, the sun

ſun was above their horizon for ten days together; and if, by making allowance for the effect of univerſal wonder and aſtoniſhment, you ſuppoſe the ten days to be but ten hours, their account coincides with the ſcriptural. Xenophanes in Plutarch (Xelander's edit. p. 890 & 891.) ſays, "Narrationem adjecit porro de quodam ſolis de-"fectu, qui totum duraverit menſem, et alio per-"fecto qui diem in noctem mutaverit." Plato ſpeaks much in the ſame ſtyle; and in his Timeus, intimates, that Solon picked up his firſt information in Egypt. It is ſpoken of alſo by ſeveral of the Roman writers. In particular, what ſhall we think of Phaeton's conflagration of the earth, when his ambition led him to the high charge of guiding the chariot of the ſun? Ovid did not know of a ſhower of hailſtones, which did more execution among the combined forces of Joſhua's enemies, than the edge of the ſword, which would certainly have changed the temperature of the air ſo far, as not only to prevent a conflagration, but an exceſſive heat; which alſo accounts for the harmleſsneſs of theſe extraordinary changes that ſurpriſed the prieſts of Vulcan as above. Shall I not add the well known poetical fable of Jupiter's viſit to Alcmena, on which occaſion he thought fit to lengthen the night into three, which the fair lady thought ſuch an honour, as to preſerve the memory of it upon her head-dreſs, by three painted moons?—"Parvoque ſuperbit "Alcmena, Hercule, tergemina crine circumdata "luna." Statius, Theb. B. 6. v. 785.

Had it been any other wooer than Jupiter, this monument of female vanity would do little honour to her huſband. At the ſame time, ſuch a poetical fiction ſo vainly held forth to the public, muſt have reſted upon ſome ancient tradition, to

give

give it life, and the air of credibility; for the *licentia poetica* must preserve a probable appearance, which in this case would have been lost, if there never was a public story alluded to, of one night's being as long as two. Doth not Callimachus allude in some degree to this wonderful scene, when in describing the anniversary of Diana at Delos, he represents the universal joy and attention of the people thus—

"*When Sol himself stands still, and from his car*
"*Hangs smiling to behold the lovely choirs,*
"*Gives time a pause, and lengthens out the day.*"

I will now presume to subjoin another testimony, the embassy of congratulation sent by Merodochballadan the powerful king of Babylon to Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness, and also to inquire into the nature of the miracle which must have been observed by his astronomers, as well as published by his distressed Assyrian neighbours, to preserve some shreds of reputation, when heaven and earth were joined against them. In short, the Israelites would have been ridiculous in the eyes of their enemies, their neighbours, and of one another, if they had banged up an idle story, of which there never was a preceding instance. Such a conduct would have been more absurd, than that of the former historians of Charles the V, as well as his poets, who alleged that the sun stopt in its course to give him time to complete a victory over his enemies; though the Duke of Alva himself, when questioned on this head, made answer, "that he was too "busy on earth, to regard what was doing in the "heavens." Upon the whole, these two public miracles are often mentioned in holy writ; and as they must have been universally observed, other writers would have taken notice of them: But when

when the havock which war, superstition, and ignorance, have made among books, is considered, it is rather matter of wonder that so many references are made to them in the few which have escaped the wreck of time. Pray, let any one say, why, in the establishments of all new religions, in whatever age or country, miracles are pretended to have been wrought, if there were not once real ones. Can any person's hand be forged, without an original? or, would the best contrived falsehood meet with belief or regard, if there was no such thing as truth? The Jewish is confessedly the most ancient establishment of religion, and therefore must have been the original, of which the rest are awkward copies: and the divine testimonies, on which it and Christianity are supported, have maintained their ground against the power, false learning, caprice, and wit of man.

The 7th, 8th, & 9th, in the first volume of Dr G. Bonnet's Discourses, 2d edition, Utrecht, 1774, p. 294—424, contain the best solution I have met with of the difficulties in the history, Joshua x. 1—14.; and well merit to be translated into English, or abridged.

NUMBER XVI.

STATE *of* POPERY *and* PROTESTANTISM, *and* MANNER *of* ELECTING MINISTERS *in the* NETHERLANDS.

From W. A. BACHIENE *kerkelyke geographie der Nederlanden*; i. e. Bachiene's *church geography of the Netherlands*.

Amst. 1768, vol. 1. p. 2. IN the Netherlands, no less than fifty thousand suffered for religion by the hands of the executioner, beside the many thousands massacred by the Spaniards, in the taking of cities, when even

even women and children were not ſpared.——P. 7. In the interior parts of the provinces, eſpecially the greateſt and moſt populous cities, the reformed are moſt numerous. About the borders, eſpecially of Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Frieſland, they and the Papiſts are much on a par. In a few places, the laſt are ſupernumerary, as in ſome villages of North Holland and Utrecht, not to mention the lands in Flanders, Brabant, and the upper part of Guelderland, where, though the States have the ſovereignty, Papiſts enjoy great privileges, and ſuffer no reſtraint of conſcience. As they are generally artificers and merchants, excluſion from public offices ſeldom tempts them to become Proteſtants. ——P. 11. In ſome churches, the conſiſtories, in others the male members, have a free election of the miniſter, which however muſt be approved by the claſſes, and in moſt places by the burgomaſter. In other churches, the proprietors of lands, whoſe forefathers built or endowed them, have the right of patronage. When diſputes ariſe about that right, they are determined by their High Mightineſſes.——P. 98—127. In many churches in the claſs of Maeſtricht, Papiſts have the uſe of the church one part of the day, and Proteſtants another.——P. 111. *& ſeq.* Aken, Burchett, and Eupen, the three ſuffering churches in the claſs of Maeſtricht, by the partition treaty, were allowed the free and undiſturbed exerciſe of their worſhip at Vaals, about an hour's diſtance from Aken, where each of the three churches has its own place of worſhip; and there is alſo one for the Mennonites. The reformed church at Vaals is united to that at Aken, where the preacher and greater part of the members reſide, and have repeatedly met with bad treatment from the Catholics of Aken, when journeying from thence to their place of worſhip. This however now ſeems to ceaſe.

Vol. 2. Amſt. 1769—p. 9. The miniſters of Dort are elected by a conjunct meeting of the magiſtrates and conſiſtory.——P. 29. In ſome places of the circle of Stryen, in the claſs of Dort, the conſiſtory and magiſtrates

gistrates nominate twelve or more candidates, of whom one is elected by the lord of the manor. In others they elect, but their choice must be approved by the lord of the manor.——P. 76. In both Katwyks, in the class of Leyden, the consistory nominates six, of whom the lord of Katwyk elects one.——P. 120. In Briel, as in all the cities of Holland which have a vote in the State, the consistory nominates three, and obtains from the burgomasters allowance to chuse one of them, whom, when they have elected, they present to the burgomasters for their approbation.——P. 136. At Gravesande, Munster, &c. after permission from the Stadtholder, the magistrates elect two, and the consistory other two; one of which four, the Stadtholder chuses.——P. 187. Patronage is almost unknown in North Holland. In most places the consistory, in some the male members of the church, elect. The choice however is approved in some places by their High Mightinesses; in others, by the lord of the manor; in others, by the burgomasters.——P. 229—238. In the class of Hoorn, in the synod of North Holland, the male members elect, except in three; and in the class of Enkhuizen, except in two cities. In these five, the consistory elects.

Vol. 3. Amst. 1770—p. 9. In the cities of Zealand, the consistories, with deputies from the magistrates—and in the villages, the consistories, with the lord of the manor, (the last being allowed two votes), have the right of electing pastors.——P. 145. In the landward parishes in the synod of Friesland, those entitled by houses or land, to vote in chusing deputies to the State, freely elect their pastors; and none have a right to approve or reject their choice.——P. 175—177. At Staveren and Workum, in the synod of Friesland, the consistory nominate three, of whom one is elected by the congregation.

Vol. 4. Amst. 1773—p. 49. At Heins, in the class of Zwoll, and synod of Overyssel, the proprietors of lands and houses nominate two, and the consistory other

other two; from which four, they separately elect one. If they chuse different persons, the settlement is determined by lot.——P. 75. In no province are Papists more restrained than Groningen, chiefly since 1731. Encouraged by the indulgence of the government, they began more and more to infringe the placarts for the restraint of Popery, ordaining foreigners priests, multiplying their churches, going to them openly in great crowds, and their clergy inculcating the Pope's unlimited power, in civil as well as church matters; instilling into the laity a blind zeal, and procuring from them large donations or legacies to foreign churches and monasteries. The States of the province, perceiving their aim perfectly to restore Popery in these lands, by a placart 12th April 1731, obliged the regular clergy, especially the Jesuits, to leave the province in six weeks; and only allowed subjects of the United Provinces to be chosen their successors, who, before entering on their office, should acquaint government of their names, birth and dwelling-place, under the fine of a thousand ducats. The laity were forbid to dispose of their money and goods to foreign churches and monasteries, or to purchase Papal dispensations. Thus, the Catholics were deprived of power and support for carrying on their designs against the reformation.—P. 76. In some places of this province, the consistories, or those entitled to chuse deputies to the assemblies of the States, elect the pastors: But the places subject to patronage are the most numerous.—P. 209. Some iron-smiths at the village of Saumagne, in the bishoprick of Laik, were, 1736, by the bare reading of the Scripture, which providentially fell into their hands, led to renounce Popery; and as they could not live safe at home, much less obtain further instruction in divine truth, they removed to Maestricht, where, after further instruction, they were admitted members of the Walloon church.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM